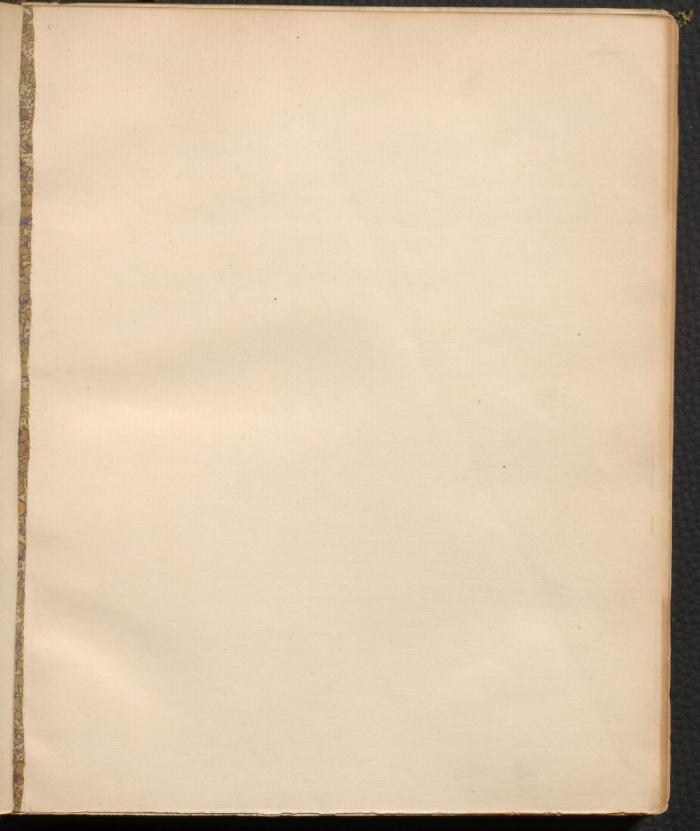
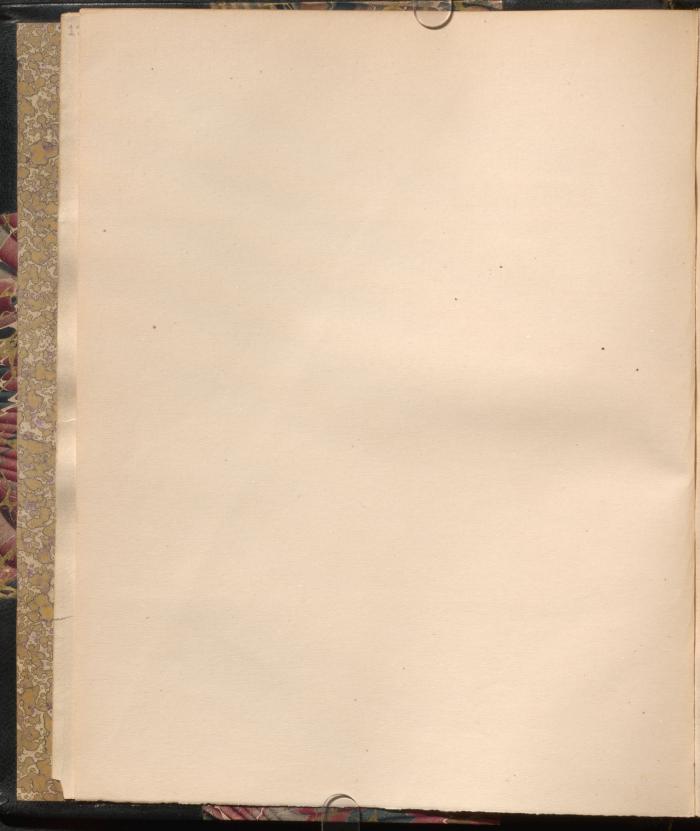






121 Champlain V.1.





# Publications of the Prince Society.

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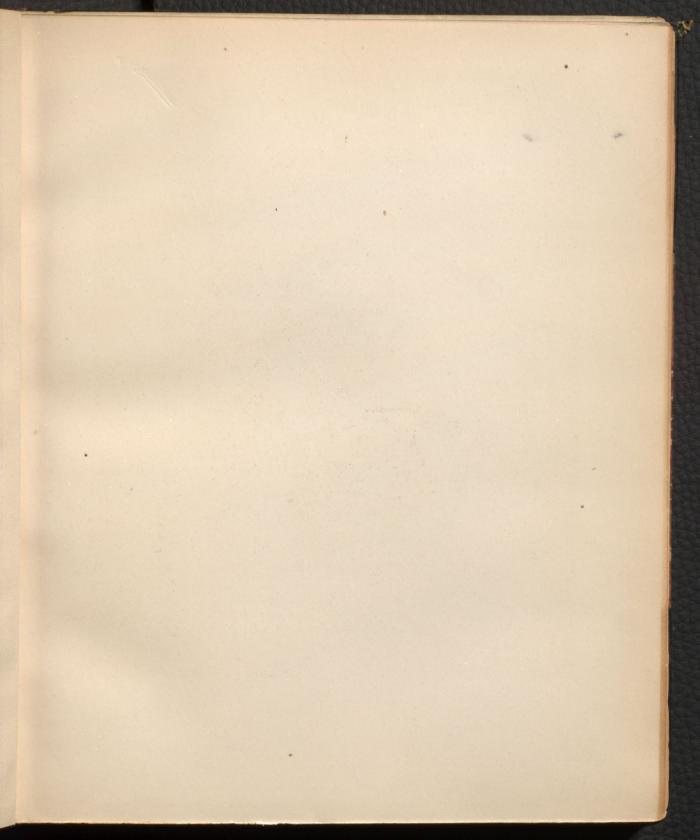
# CHAMPLAIN'S VOYAGES.



### Boston:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,
By John Wilson and Son.
1880.

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CHAMPLAIN (SAMUEL DE) d'après un portrait gravé par Moncornet

# VOYAGES

OF

# SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

By CHARLES POMEROY OTIS, Ph.D.

WITH HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS,

AND A

MEMOIR

By THE REV. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, A.M.

VOL. I.

1567-1635.

FIVE ILLUSTRATIONS.

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The REV. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, A.M.



## PREFACE.



HE labors and achievements of the navigators and explorers, who vifited our coasts between the last years of the fifteenth and the early years of the seventeenth centuries, were naturally

enough not fully appreciated by their contemporaries, nor were their relations to the future growth of European interests and races on this continent comprehended in the age in which they lived. Numberless events in which they were actors, and personal characteristics which might have illustrated and enriched their history, were therefore never placed upon record. In intimate connection with the career of Cabot, Cartier, Roberval, Ribaut, Laudonnière, Gosnold, Pring, and Smith, there were vast domains of personal incident and interesting fact over which the waves of oblivion have passed forever. Nor has Champlain been more fortunate than the rest. In studying his life and character, we are constantly finding ourselves longing to know much where we are permitted to know but little. His early

early years, the processes of his education, his home virtues, his filial affection and duty, his focial and domestic habits and mode of life, we know imperfectly; gathering only a few rays of light here and there in numerous directions, as we follow him along his lengthened career. The reader will therefore fail to find very much that he might well desire to know, and that I should have been but too happy to embody in this work. In the positive absence of knowledge, this want could only be supplied from the field of pure imagination. To draw from this source would have been alien both to my judgment and to my taste.

But the effential and important events of Champlain's public career are happily embalmed in imperishable records. To gather these up and weave them into an impartial and truthful narrative has been the simple purpose of my present attempt. If I have succeeded in marshalling the authentic deeds and purposes of his life into a complete whole, giving to each undertaking and event its true value and importance, so that the historian may more easily comprehend the sulness of that life which Champlain consecrated to the progress of geographical knowledge, to the aggrandizement of France, and to the dissemination of the Christian faith in the church of which he was a member, I shall feel that my aim has been fully achieved.

The annotations which accompany Dr. Otis's faithful and fcholarly translation are intended to give to the reader such information

into mation are so fully given in connection with the notes that no farther reference to them in this place is required.

thanks to those who have thus obliged and aided me. And, I have been to closely affociated, and whole courteous man-Lamb, of Bofton, who has gratuatously executed and con-

Preface.

the that infection and duty, his focial and demettic terms and made of life, we know imperiedly; gathering only a few plays of light here and there in numerous directions we tollow him along his lengthened career. The reason we tollow him along his lengthened career. The reason we tollow him along his lengthened career. The reason we tollow him along his lengthened career. The reason we tollow him along his lengthened career. The reason we to have been along the reason to drive work. In the positive absence of knowledge, we want could only be supplied trees the field of pure there is not independ and the ray base.

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The annotations which accompany the entire surpressional translation are intended to give to the control of

information as he may need for a full understanding of the text, and which he could not otherwise obtain without the inconvenience of troublesome, and, in many instances, of disficult and perplexing investigations. The sources of my information are so fully given in connection with the notes that no further reference to them in this place is required.

In the progress of the work, I have found myself under great obligations to numerous friends for the loan of rare books, and for valuable fuggestions and affistance. The readiness with which historical scholars and the custodians of our great depositories of learning have responded to my inquiries, and the cordiality and courtefy with which they have uniformly proffered their affiftance, have awakened my deepest gratitude. I take this opportunity to tender my cordial thanks to those who have thus obliged and aided me. And, while I cannot spread the names of all upon these pages, I haften to mention, first of all, my friend, Dr. Otis, with whom I have been fo closely affociated, and whose courteous manner and kindly fuggestions have rendered my task always an agreeable one. I defire, likewife, to mention Mr. George Lamb, of Boston, who has gratuitously executed and contributed a map, illustrating the explorations of Champlain; Mr. Justin Winfor, of the Library of Harvard College; Mr. Charles A. Cutter, of the Boston Athenæum; Mr. John Ward Dean, of the Library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society; Mrs. John Carter Brown, of Providence,

dence, R. I.; Miss S. E. Dorr, of Boston; Monsieur L. Delisse, Directeur Général de la Bibliothèque Nationale, of Paris; M. Meschinet De Richemond, Archiviste de la Charente Insérieure, La Rochelle, France; the Hon. Charles H. Bell, of Exeter, N. H.; Francis Parkman, LL.D., of Boston; the Abbé H. R. Casgrain, of Rivière Ouelle, Canada; John G. Shea, LL.D., of New York; Mr. James M. LeMoine, of Quebec; and Mr. George Prince, of Bath, Maine.

I take this occasion to state for the information of the members of the Prince Society, that some important facts contained in the Memoir had not been received when the text and notes of the second volume were ready for the press, and, to prevent any delay in the completion of the whole work, Vol. II. was iffued before Vol. I., as will appear by the dates on their respective title-pages.

E. F. S.

Boston, 14 Arlington Street, November 10, 1880.





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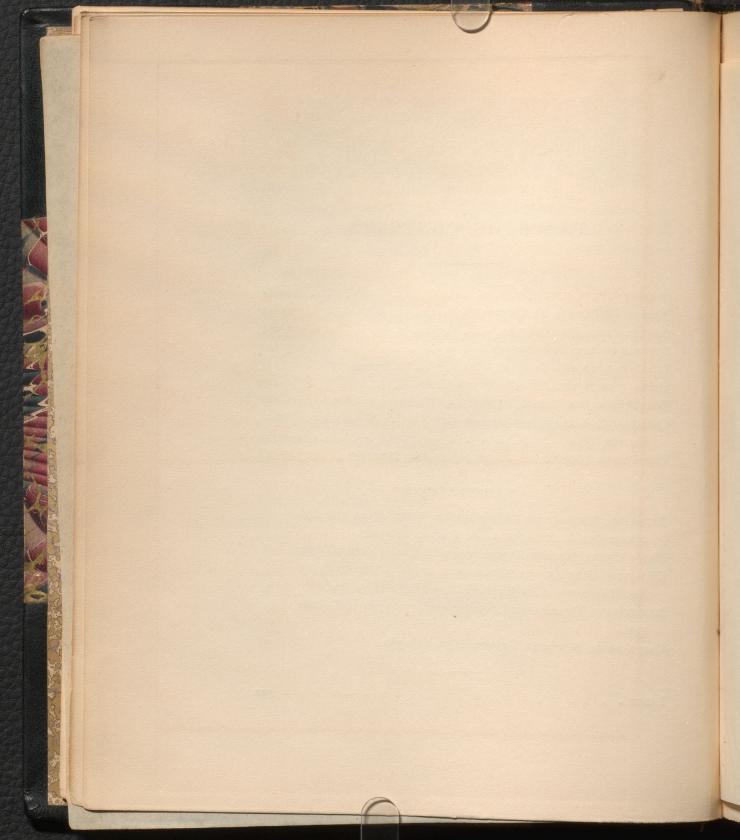
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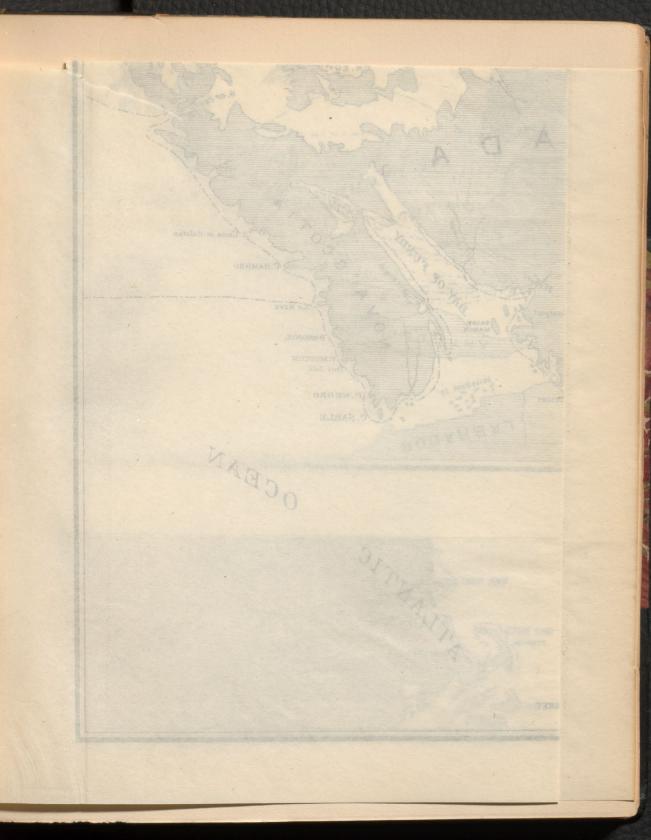
## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Preface	v–viii
Memoir of Samuel de Champlain	. 1-204
Annotationes Postscriptæ	. 205-214
Preface to the Translation	. 215-224
DEDICATION TO THE ADMIRAL, CHARLES DE MONTMORENCY	227
EXTRACT FROM THE LICENSE OF THE KING	229
THE SAVAGES, OR VOYAGE OF SIEUR DE CHAMPLAIN, 1603	. 231-291
CHAMPLAIN'S EXPLANATION OF THE CARTE DE LA NOVVELLE	
France, 1632	293-304
THE PRINCE SOCIETY, ITS CONSTITUTION AND MEMBERS	305-318

#### ILLUSTRATIONS.

ENGRAVED PORTRAIT OF CHAMPLAIN ON WOOD, AFTER THE EN-
GRAVING OF MONCORNET BY E. RONJAT, heliotype.
MAP ILLUSTRATING THE EXPLORATIONS OF CHAMPLAIN, heliotype.
ENGRAVED PORTRAIT OF CHAMPLAIN, AFTER A PAINTING BY
TH. HAMEL FROM AN ENGRAVING OF MONCORNET, fleel.
ILLUMINATED TITLE-PAGE OF THE VOYAGE OF 1615 ET 1618, helio-
type.
CARTE DE LA NOVVELLE FRANCE, 1632, heliotype.





CALCUL des lieux du Soleil & de la Lune à Paris au temps du passage observé de la Lune au Méridien, le 16 Novembre 1750, à 15<sup>h</sup> 14' 24" temps vrai, & 14<sup>h</sup> 59' 41" \frac{1}{2} temps moyen, suivant l'équation du temps, prise d'abord dans la Connoissance des Temps, où on la trouve pour cette heure de 14' 42" \frac{1}{2} soustractive.

# CALCUL DU LIEU DU SOLEIL.

Moyen mouvem. du Soleil pour 1750	91	10d	00'	21"
Pour le 16 Novembre	10.	15.	24.	25
Pour 14h 59' 41" ½	0.	0.	36.	57
Longitude moyenne du Soleil	7.	26.	1.	43
Equation du centre du Soleil		Ι.	19.	$57\frac{3}{4}$
Lieu du Soleilm, ou	7.	24.	41.	45 1/4

Moyen mouvem. de l'apogée du Soleil pour 1750. Pour le 16 Novembre	3°	084	35'	55" 55
	0.	0.	0.	0
Longitude movenne de l'apogée du Soleil	3.	8.	36.	50
A soustraire de la longitude moyenne du Soleit	7.	26.	1.	43
Anomalie moyenne du Soleil	4.	17.	24.	53

La première équat. du temps		5'	20"
La feconde	-	. 9.	27
E'quation du temps			
Temps vrai			
Temps moyen corrrigé	14.	59.	37

Sien 60': 1' 30":: 24' 53"!	E'quation du centre pour 4 <sup>f</sup> 17 <sup>d</sup>	pd 20' 35"
16021		- 0. 37 <del>1</del>
	E'q. du cent. pour 4 <sup>f</sup> 17 <sup>d</sup> 24' 53"	1.19.57 3

## CALCUL DU LIEU DE LA LUNE

	0.787	
Moyen mouvem. de la Lune pour 1750 6f 08d	16'	1.9"
Pour le 16 Novembre 8. 16.		
Pour 14 <sup>h</sup> 59' 37"	13.	54 3
Longitude moyenne de la Lune 3. 02.		
Première E'quation	08.	06 8
Lieu de la Lune premièrement corrigé 3. 03.	05.	07 7
Seconde Equation	03.	13
Lieu de la Lune deuxièmement corrigé 3. 03.	01.	54 7
Troisième E'quation + 00.	00.	39 3
Lieu de la Lune troissèmement corrigé 3. 03.		
E'quation du centre+ 06.	16.	28
Lieu de la Lune quatrièmement corrigé 3. 09.	19.	02 1
Variation	36.	50 1
Lieu de la Lune cinquièmement corrigé 3. 09	. 55.	52 3
Sixième E'quation	, 00.	41
Vrai lieu de la Lunc 3. 09.	55.	11 3
Réduction à l'Ecliptique 00	. 04.	09
Longitude de la Lune	, 51.	02 3
Latitude de la Lune australe o. 01	. 35.	34
Demi-diamètre horizontal de la Lune o. oo	. 16.	04 1
Parallaxe horizontale de la Lune o . o o		

CALCUL DU LIEU DE LA LUNI
Moyen mouv. de l'apogée de la Lune pour 1750 5 <sup>f</sup> 20 <sup>d</sup> 58' 52"  Pour le 16 Novembre
Longitude moyenne de l'apogée de la Lune 6. 26. 42. 06 6  Première Equation
Lieu de l'apogée de la Lune premièrement corrigé 6. 26. 28. 21 5 E'quation de l'apogée
Vrai lieu de l'apogée de la Lune 7. 05. 29. 58 5
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Lieu du Solcil
Argument annuel
E'quat. de l'apog + 9. 01. 37 La plus gr. éq. du centre 7. 08. 4.
Lien de la Lune troisièmement corrigé
$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
Lieu de la Lune quatrièmement corrigé
Apogée de la Lune

E.	
	Moyen mouvement du Nœud retr. pour 1750 9 <sup>c</sup> 10 <sup>d</sup> 15′ 00″ Pour le 16 Novemb 16 <sup>d</sup> 56′ 44″ Pour 14 <sup>h</sup> &c
	Longitude moyenne du Nœud       8. 23. 16. 17         Première E'quation $+$ 00. 06. $31\frac{2}{3}$ Lieu du Nœud premièrement corrigé       8. 23. 22. $48\frac{5}{5}$ E'quation du Nœud $-$ 01. 14. $27\frac{1}{6}$ Vrai lieu du Nœud       8. 22. 08. $21\frac{1}{2}$
	Lieu du Soleil
	Vrai fieu de la Lune
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EXHIBITING THE EXPLORATIO

MAP

NORTH AMERICA

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

1603 \_ 1615



## MEMOIR

OF

## SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN.

#### CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE. — BIRTH. — HOME AT BROUAGE. — ITS SITUATION. — A MILITARY STATION. — ITS SALT WORKS. — HIS EDUCATION. — EARLY LOVE OF THE SEA. — QUARTER-MASTER IN BRITTANY. — CATHOLICS AND HUGUENOTS. — CATHERINE DE MEDICIS. — THE LEAGUE. — DUKE DE MERCŒUR. — MARSHAL D'AUMONT. — DE SAINT LUC. — MARSHAL DE BRISSAC. — PEACE OF VERVINS.



HAMPLAIN was descended from an ancestry whose names are not recorded among the renowned families of France. He was the son of Antoine de Champlain, a captain in the marine, and his wife Marguerite LeRoy. They

lived in the little village of Brouage, in the ancient province of Saintonge. Of their fon Samuel, no contemporaneous record is known to exist indicating either the day or year of his birth. The period at which we find him engaged in active and responsible duties, such as are usually assigned to mature manhood, leads to the conjecture that he was born about

about the year 1567. Of his youth little is known. The forces that contributed to the formation of his character are mostly to be inferred from the abode of his early years, the occupations of those by whom he was furrounded, and the temper and spirit of the times in which he lived.

Brouage is fituated in a low, marfhy region, on the fouthern bank of an inlet or arm of the fea, on the fouthwestern shores of France, opposite to that part of the Island of Oleron where it is feparated from the mainland only by a narrow channel. Although this little town can boast a great antiquity, it never at any time had a large population. It is mentioned by local historians as early as the middle of the eleventh century. It was a feigniory of the family of Pons. The village was founded by Jacques de Pons, after whose proper name it was for a time called Jacopolis, but foon refumed its ancient appellation of Brouage.

An old chronicler of the fixteenth century informs us that in his time it was a port of great importance, and the theatre of a large foreign commerce. Its harbor, capable of receiving large ships, was excellent, regarded, indeed, as the finest in the kingdom of France. It was a favorite idea of Charles VIII. to have at all times feveral war-ships in this harbor, ready against any sudden invasion of this part of the coaft.

At the period of Champlain's boyhood, the village of Brouage had two absorbing interests. First, it had then re-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Or ils n'en pouvoient choifir un plus à p. 340. leur advantage, que celui de la Rochelle,

<sup>1</sup> The following from Marshal de Montluc refers to Brouage in 1568. le plus beau port de mer de la France."

Speaking of the Huguenots he says:—

Commentaires, Paris, 1760, Tom. III.,

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cently become a military post of importance; and fecond, it was the centre of a large manufacture of falt. To these two interests, the whole population gave their thoughts, their energy, and their enterprise.

In the reign of Charles IX., a fhort time before or perhaps a little after the birth of Champlain, the town was fortified, and diftinguished Italian engineers were employed to defign and execute the work.<sup>2</sup> To prevent a sudden attack, it was surrounded by a capacious moat. At the four angles formed by the moat were elevated structures of earth and wood planted upon piles, with bastions and projecting angles, and the usual devices of military architecture for the attainment of strength and facility of defence.<sup>3</sup>

During the civil wars, ftretching over nearly forty years of the laft half of the fixteenth century, with only brief and fitful periods of peace, this little fortified town was a post ardently coveted by both of the contending parties. Situated on the same coast, and only a few miles from Rochelle, the stronghold of the Huguenots, it was obviously exceedingly important to them that it should be in their possession, both as the key to the commerce of the surrounding country and from the very great annoyance which an enemy holding it could offer to them in numberless ways. Notwithstanding its strong defences, it was nevertheless taken and retaken several times during the struggles of that period.

<sup>2 &</sup>quot;La Riviere Puitaillé qui en étoit Gouverneur, fut chargé de faire travailler aux fortifications. Belarmat, Bephano, Caftritio d'Urbin, & le Cavalier Orlogio, tous Ingénieurs Italiens, préfiderent aux travaux." — Histoire La

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "La Riviere Puitaillé qui en étoit Rochelle, par Arcere, à la Rochelle, 1756, ouverneur, fut chargé de faire travailTom. I., p. 121.

<sup>8</sup> Histoire de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, 1152-1548, par M. D. Massion, Paris, 1838, Vol. II., p. 406.

period. It was furrendered to the Huguenots in 1570, but was immediately reftored on the peace that prefently followed. The king of Navarre 4 took it by strategy in 1576, placed a ftrong garrison in it, repaired and strengthened its fortifications; but the next year it was forced to furrender to the royal army commanded by the duke of Mayenne.5 In 1585, the Huguenots made another attempt to gain poffession of the town. The Prince of Condé encamped with a strong force on the road leading to Marennes, the only avenue to Brouage by land, while the inhabitants of Rochelle co-operated by fending down a fleet which completely blocked up the harbor.6 While the fiege was in fuccefsful progrefs, the

prince which agreement the Duke punctually

observed." — His. Civ. Warres, by Davila, London, 1647, p. 472. See also Memoirs of Sully, Phila., 1817, Vol. I.,

p. 69. "Le Jeudi XXVIII Mars. Fut tenu Confeil au Cabinet de la Royne mere du Roy [pour] aviser ce que M. du Maine avoit à faire, & j'ai mis en avant l'enterprise de Brouage. — Journal de Henri III., Paris, 1744, Tom. III., p.

6 "The Prince of Condé refolved to besiege Broüage, wherein was the Sieur de St. Luc, one of the League, with no contemptible number of infantry and some other gentlemen of the Country. The Rochellers confented to this Enterprife, both for their profit, and reputation which redounded by it; and having fent a great many Ships thither, besieged the Fortress by Sea, whilst the Prince having poffeffed that paffage which is the only way to Brouage by land, and having thut up the Defendants within the circuit of their walls, ftraight-

4 The King of Navarre "fent for lives of the Souldiers and inhabitants, Monsieur de Mirabeau under colour of treating with him concerning other businesses, and forced him to deliver up Brouage into his hands, a Fort of great importance, as well for that it lies upon the Coast of the Ocean-sea, as because it abounds with fuch flore of falt-pits, which yeeld a great and constant revenue; he made the Sieur de Montaut Governour, and put into it a strong Garrison of his dependents, furnishing it with ammunition, and fortifying it with exceeding diligence." - His. Civ. Warres of France, by Henrico Caterino

Davila, London, 1647, p. 455.
5 "The Duke of Mayenne, having without difficulty taken Thone-Charente. and Marans, had laid fiege to Brouage, a place, for fituation, ftrength, and the profit of the falt-pits, of very great importance; when the Prince of Condé, having tryed all possible means to relieve the befieged, the Hugonots after fome difficulty were brought into fuch a condition, that about the end of August they delivered it up, faving only the 1570.

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prince unwifely drew off a part of his command for the relief of the castle of Angiers; 7 and a month later the siege was abandoned and the Huguenot forces were badly cut to pieces by de Saint Luc,8 the military governor of Brouage, who purfued them in their retreat.

The next year, 1586, the town was again threatened by the Prince of Condé, who, having collected another army, was met by De Saint Luc near the island of Oleron, who fallied forth from Brouage with a strong force; and a conflict ensued, lafting the whole day, with equal lofs on both fides, but with no decifive refults.

Thus until 1589, when the King of Navarre, the leader of the Huguenots, entered into a truce with Henry III., from Champlain's birth through the whole period of his youth and until he entered upon his manhood, the little town within whose walls he was reared was the fitful scene of war and peace, of alarm and conflict.

But

ned the Siege very closely on that fide." - Davila, p. 582. See also, Histoire de Thou, à Londres, 1734, Tom. IX., p.

The blocking up the harbor at this time appears to have been more effective than convenient. Twenty boats or rafts filled with earth and stone were funk with a purpose of destroying the harbor. De Saint Luc, the governor, fucceeded in removing only four or five. The entrance for veffels afterward remained difficult except at high tide. Subsequently Cardinal de Richelieu expended a hundred thousand francs to remove the rest, but did not succeed in removing one of them. - Vide Histoire de La Rochelle, par Arcere, Tom. I. p. 121.

7 The Prince of Condé. "Leaving

Monfieur de St. Mesmes with the In-

fantry and Artillery at the Siege of Brouage, and giving order that the Fleet should continue to block it up by sea, hee departed upon the eight of October to relieve the Castle of Angiers with 800 Gentlemen and 1400 Harquebuziers on horseback." — Davila, p. 583. See also Menoirs of Sully, Phila., 1817, Vol. I., p. 123; Historie de Thou, à Londres, 1734, Tom. IX., p. 385.

8 "St. Luc fallying out of Broüage,

and following those that were scattered feverall wayes, made a great flaughter of them in many places; whereupon the Commander, despairing to rally the Army any more, got away as well as they could poffibly, to fecure their own strong holds." - His. Civ. Warres of France, by Henrico Caterino Davila, London, 1647, p. 588.

But in the intervals, when the waves of civil strife settled into the calm of a temporary peace, the citizens returned with alacrity to their usual employment, the manufacture of salt, which was the absorbing article of commerce in their port.

This manufacture was carried on more extensively in Saintonge than in any other part of France. The falt was obtained by fubjecting water drawn from the ocean to folar evaporation. The low marsh-lands which were very extenfive about Brouage, on the fouth towards Marennes and on the north towards Rochefort, were eminently adapted to this purpose. The whole of this vast region was cut up into falt basins, generally in the form of parallelograms, excavated at different depths, the earth and rubbish scooped out and thrown on the fides, forming a platform or path leading from basin to basin, the whole presenting to the eye the appearance of a vast chess-board. The argillaceous earth at the bottom of the pans was made hard to prevent the escape of the water by percolation. This was done in the larger ones by leading horses over the furface, until, fays an old chronicler, the basins "would hold water as if they were brass." The water was introduced from the fea, through fluices and fieves of pierced planks, passing over broad surfaces in shallow currents, furnishing an opportunity for evaporation from the moment it left the ocean until it found its way into the numerous falt-basins covering the whole expanse of the marshy plains. The water once in the basins, the process of evaporation was carried on by the fun and the wind, affifted by the workmen, who agitated the water to hasten the procefs. The first formation of falt was on the surface, having

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a white, creamy appearance, exhaling an agreeable perfume refembling that of violets. This was the fineft and most delicate falt, while that precipitated, or falling to the bottom of the basin, was of a darker hue.

When the cryftallization was completed, the falt was gathered up, drained, and piled in conical heaps on the platforms or paths along the fides of the bafins. At the height of the feafon, which began in May and ended in September, when the whole marsh region was covered with countless white cones of falt, it presented an interesting picture, not unlike the tented camp of a vast army.

The falt was carried from the marshes on pack-horses, equipped each with a white canvas bag, led by boys either to the quay, where large vessels were lying, or to small barques which could be brought at high tide, by natural or artificial inlets, into the very heart of the marsh-fields.

When the period for removing the falt came, no time was to be loft, as a fudden fall of rain might deftroy in an hour the products of a month. A fmall quantity only could be transported at a time, and consequently great numbers of animals were employed, which were made to hasten over the sinuous and angulated paths at their highest speed. On reaching the ships, the burden was taken by men stationed for the purpose, the boys mounted in haste, and galloped back for another.

The scene presented in the labyrinth of an extensive faltmarsh was lively and entertaining. The picturesque dress of the workmen, with their clean white frocks and linen tights; the horses in great numbers mantled in their snowy falt-bags, winding their way on the narrow platforms, moving

in

in all directions, turning now to the right hand and now to the left, doubling almost numberless angles, here advancing and again retreating, often going two leagues to make the distance of one, maintaining order in apparent confusion, altogether presented to the distant observer the aspect of a grand equestrian masquerade.

The extent of the works and the labor and capital invested in them were doubtless large for that period. A contemporary of Champlain informs us that the wood employed in the construction of the works, in the form of gigantic fluices, bridges, beam-partitions, and fieves, was so vast in quantity that, if it were destroyed, the forests of Guienne would not suffice to replace it. He also adds that no one who had seen the falt works of Saintonge would estimate the expense of forming them less than that of building the city of Paris itself.

The port of Brouage was the bufy mart from which the falt of Saintonge was diffributed not only along the coast of France, but in London and Antwerp, and we know not what other markets on the continent of Europe.

The

<sup>9</sup> An old writer gives us fome idea of the vaft quantities of falt exported from France by the amount fent to a fingle

<sup>&</sup>quot;Important denique fexies mille vel circiter centenarios falis, quorum finguli conftant centenis modiis, ducentenas ut minimum & vicenas quinas, vel & tricenas, pro falis ipfius candore puritateque, libras pondo pendentibus. fena igitur illa centenariorum millia, computatis in fingulos aureis nummis tricenis, centum & octoginta referunt aureorum millia." — Belgicæ Defcriptio, a Lud. Gvicciardino, Amftelodami, 1652, p. 244.

TRANSLATION. — They import in fine 6000 centenarii of falt, each one of which contains 100 bushels, weighing at least 225 or 230 pounds, according to the purity and whiteness of the falt; therefore fix thousand centenarii, computing each at thirty golden nummi, amount to 180,000 aurei.

It may not be easy to determine the value of this importation in money, fince the value of gold is constantly changing, but the quantity imported may be readily determined, which was according to the above statement, 67,500 tons.

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The early years of Champlain were of necessity intimately affociated with the stirring scenes thus presented in this profperous little feaport. As we know that he was a careful observer, endowed by nature with an active temperament and an unufual degree of practical fense, we are fure that no event escaped his attention, and that no mystery was permitted to go unfolved. The military and commercial enterprife of the place brought him into daily contact with men of the highest character in their departments. The faltfactors of Brouage were perfons of experience and activity, who knew their bufiness, its methods, and the markets at home and abroad. The fortrefs was commanded by diffinguished officers of the French army, and was a rendezvous of the young nobility; like other fimilar places, a trainingfchool for military command. In this affociation, whether near or remote, young Champlain, with his eagle eye and quick ear, was receiving leffons and influences which were daily shaping his unfolding capacities, and gradually compacting and crystallizing them into the firmness and strength of character which he fo largely displayed in after years.

His education, fuch as it was, was of course obtained during this period. He has himfelf given us no intimation of

Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England, provided as follows:-"And, besides, should furnish unto the exported from Rochel, Maran, Brouage, faid *Henry*, as long as hee lived, yearly, of the Salt of *Browage*, the value of fifteene thousand Crownes."—*Life and* London, 1702, p. 271. But it no longer

Saintonge continued for a long time yielded the palm to Brittany. to be the fource of large exports of falt.

A treaty of April 30, 1527, between De Witt, writing about the year 1658, fays they received in Holland of "falt, yearly, the lading of 500 or 600 ships, Raigne of Henry VIII., by Lord Her-holds the pre-eminence which it did three bert of Cherbury, London, 1649, p. 206. centuries ago. Saintonge long fince its character or extent. A careful examination of his numerous writings will, however, render it obvious that it was limited and rudimentary, fearcely extending beyond the fundamental branches which were then regarded as necessary in the ordinary transactions of business. As the result of instruction or affociation with educated men, he attained to a good general knowledge of the French language, but was never nicely accurate or eminently skilful in its use. He evidently gave some attention in his early years to the study and practice of drawing. While the specimens of his work that have come down to us are marked by grave defects, he appears nevertheless to have acquired facility and some skill in the art, which he made exceedingly useful in the illustration of his discoveries in the new world.

During Champlain's youth and the earlier years of his manhood, he appears to have been engaged in practical navigation. In his address to the Queen to he fays, "this is the art which in my early years won my love, and has induced me to expose myself almost all my life to the impetuous waves of the ocean." That he began the practice of navigation at an early period may likewise be inferred from the fact that in 1599 he was put in command of a large French ship of 500 tons, which had been chartered by the Spanish authorities for a voyage to the West Indies, of which we shall speak more particularly in the sequel. It is obvious that he could not have been intrusted with a command so difficult and of so great responsibility without practical experience in navigation; and, as it will appear hereafter that he was in

10 Vide Œuvres de Champlain, Quebec ed., Tom. III. p. v.

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the army feveral years during the civil war, probably from 1592 to 1598, his experience in navigation must have been obtained anterior to that, in the years of his youth and early manhood.

Brouage offered an excellent opportunity for fuch an employment. Its port was open to the commerce of foreign nations, and a large number of veffels, as we have already feen, was employed in the yearly distribution of the falt of Saintonge, not only in the feaport towns of France, but in England and on the Continent. In these coasting expeditions, Champlain was acquiring skill in navigation which was to be of very great fervice to him in his future career, and likewife gathering up rich stores of experience, coming in contact with a great variety of men, observing their manners and customs, and quickening and strengthening his natural tafte for travel and adventure. It is not unlikely that he was, at least during some of these years, employed in the national marine, which was fully employed in guarding the coast against foreign invasion, and in restraining the power of the Huguenots, who were firmly feated at Rochelle with a fufficient naval force to give annoyance to their enemies along the whole western coast of France.

In 1592, or foon after that date, Champlain was appointed quarter-mafter in the royal army in Brittany, discharging the office several years, until, by the peace of Vervins, in 1598, the authority of Henry IV. was firmly established throughout the kingdom. This war in Brittany constituted the closing scene of that mighty struggle which had been agitating the nation, wasting its resources and its best blood for more than half a century. It began in its incipient stages as far

back

back as the decade following 1530, when the preaching of Calvin in the Kingdom of Navarre began to make known his transcendent power. The new faith, which was making rapid strides in other countries, easily awakened the warm heart and active temperament of the French. The principle of private judgment which lies at the foundation of Proteftant teaching, its spontaneity as opposed to a faith imposed by authority, commended it especially to the learned and thoughtful, while the fame principle awakened the quick and impulfive nature of the maffes. The effort to put down the movement by the extermination of those engaged in it, proved not only unfuccefsful, but recoiled, as ufual in fuch cases, upon the hand that struck the blow. Confiscations, imprisonments, and the stake daily increased the number of those which these severe measures were intended to diminish. It was impossible to mark its progress. When at intervals all was calm and placid on the furface, at the fame time, down beneath, where the eye of the detective could not penetrate, in the closet of the scholar and at the firefide of the artifan and the peafant, the new gospel, filently and without observation, was spreading like an all-pervading leaven."

In 1562, the repressed forces of the Huguenots could no longer be reftrained, and, burfting forth, affumed the form

<sup>11</sup> In 1558, it was estimated that there that God bridled them in such manner

frequently held in the depth of midnight, and our enemies very often heard us paffing through the street, yet fo it was,

were already 400,000 persons in France who were declared adherents of the Reformation. — Ranke's Civil Wars in France, Vol. I., p. 234.

"Although our affemblies were most frequently held in the depth of midnight."

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When Henry IV. befieged Paris, its population was more than 200,000. -Malte-Brun.

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of organized civil war. With the exception of temporary lulls, originating in policy or exhaustion, there was no cessation of arms until 1598. Although it is usually and perhaps best described as a religious war, the struggle was not altogether between the Catholic and the Huguenot or Protestant. There were many other elements that came in to give their coloring to the contest, and especially to determine the course and policy of individuals.

The ultra-Catholic defired to maintain the old faith with all its ancient preftige and power, and to crush out and exclude every other. With this party were found the court, certain ambitious and powerful families, and nearly all the officials of the church. In close alliance with it were the Roman Pontiff, the King of Spain, and the Catholic princes of Germany.

The Huguenots defired what is commonly known as liberty of confcience; or, in other words, freedom to worship God according to their own views of the truth, without interference or restriction. And in close alliance with them were the Queen of England and the Protestant princes of Germany.

Personal motives, irrespective of principle, united many persons and families with either of these great parties which seemed most likely to subserve their private ambitions. The seudal system was nearly extinct in form, but its spirit was still alive. The nobles who had long held sway in some of the provinces of France desired to hold them as distinct and separate governments, and to transmit them as an inheritance to their children. This motive often determined their political association.

During

During most of the period of this long civil war, Catherine de Médicis 12 was either regent or in the exercise of a controlling influence in the government of France. She was a woman of commanding person and extraordinary ability, skilful in intrigue, without conscience and without personal religion. She hesitated at no crime, however black, if through it she could attain the objects of her ambition. Neither of her three fons, Francis, Charles, and Henry, who came fucceffively to the throne, left any legal heir to fucceed him. The fucceffion became, therefore, at an early period, a question of great interest. If not the potent cause, it was nevertheless intimately connected with most of the bloodfhed of that bloody period.

A folemn league was entered into by a large number of the ultra-Catholic nobles to fecure two avowed objects, the fuccession of a Catholic prince to the throne, and the utter extermination of the Huguenots. Henry, King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France, admitted to be the legal heir to the throne, was a Protestant, and therefore by the decree of the League disqualified to succeed. Around his standard, the Huguenots rallied in great numbers. With him were affociated the princes of Condé, of royal blood, and many other diftinguished nobles. They contended for the double purpose of securing the throne to its rightful heir and of emancipating and establishing the Protestant faith.

But there was another class, acting indeed with one or the

other

<sup>12 &</sup>quot;Catherine de Médicis was of a large and, at the fame time, firm and powerful figure; her countenance had powerful figure; her countenance had in France, by Leopold Ranke, London, an olive tint, and her prominent eyes 1852, p. 28.

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other of these two great parties, nevertheless influenced by very different motives. It was composed of moderate Catholics, who cared little for the political schemes and civil power of the Roman Pontiff, who dreaded the encroachments of the King of Spain, who were firmly patriotic and defired the aggrandizement and glory of France.

The ultra-Catholic party was, for a long period, by far the most numerous and the more powerful; but the Huguenots were fufficiently strong to keep up the struggle with varying fuccess for nearly forty years.

After the alliance of Henry of Navarre with Henry III. against the League, the moderate Catholics and the Huguenots were united and fought together under the royal standard until the close of the war in 1598.

Champlain was perfonally engaged in the war in Brittany for feveral years. This province on the western coast of France, conftituting a tongue of land jutting out as it were into the fea, isolated and remote from the great centres of the war, was among the last to surrender to the arms of Henry IV. The Huguenots had made but little progress within its borders. The Duke de Mercœur 13 had been its governor for fixteen years, and had bent all his energies to

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September 9, 1558, was the fon of daughter Françoise, probably the rich-Nicolas, Count de Vaudemont, by his est heires in the kingdom, was confecond wife, Jeanne de Savoy, and was tracted in marriage to Céfar, Duc de half-brother of Queen Louise, the wife Vendôme, the illegitimate son of Henry of Henry III. He was made governor IV. by Gabrielle d'Estrées, the Duchels of Brittany in 1582. He embraced the de Beaufort. The Duc de Mercœur party of the League before the death of died at Nuremburg, February 19, 1602. Henry III., entered into an alliance -Vide Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizwith Philip II., and gave the Spaniards abeth, Vol. I., p. 82; Davila's His. Civil possession of the port of Blavet in 1591. Warres of France, p. 1476.

18 Philippe Emanuel de Lorraine, He made his submission to Henry IV. Duc de Mercœur, born at Nomény, in 1598, on which occasion his only

feparate it from France, organize it into a distinct kingdom, and transmit its sceptre to his own family.

Champlain informs us that he was quarter-master in the army of the king under Marshal d'Aumont, de Saint Luc, and Marshal de Briffac, diftinguished officers of the French army, who had been fucceffively in command in that province for the purpose of reducing it into obedience to Henry IV.

Marshal d'Aumont took command of the army in Brittany in 1592. He was then feventy years of age, an able and patriotic officer, a moderate Catholic, and an uncompromising foe of the League. He had expressed his sympathy for Henry IV. a long time before the death of Henry III., and when that event occurred he immediately espoused the cause of the new monarch, and was at once appointed to the

command

Marshal of France who served under six kings, Francis I., Henry II., Francis II., Charles IX., Henry III., and Henry IV. He diftinguished himself at the battles of Dreux, Saint-Denis, Montcontour, and in the famous fiege of Rochelle in 1573. After the death of Henry III., he was the first to recognize Henry IV., whom he ferved with the fame zeal as he had his five predeceffors. He took part in the brilliant battle of Arques in 1589. In the following year, he fo diftinguished himself at Ivry that Henry IV., inviting him to fup with him after this memorable battle, addreffed to him thefe flattering words, "Il est juste que vous soyez du festin, après m'avoir si bien servi à mes noces." At the fiege of the Château de Camper, in Upper Brittany, he received a musket shot which fractured his arm, and died of the wound on the 19th of August, 1595, at the age of seventy-three years. "Ce grand capitaine qui

14 Jean d'Aumont, born in 1522, a avoit si bien merité du Roi et de la nation, emporta dans le tombeau les regrets des Officiers & des foldats, qui pleurerent amérement la perte de leur Général. La Bretagne qui le regardoit comme fon pere, le Roi, tout le Royaume enfin, furent extremê-ment touchez de fa mort. Malgré la haine mutuelle des factions qui divifoient la France, il étoit si estimé dans les deux partis, que f'il se fût agi de trouver un chevalier François sans reproche, tel que nos peres en ont autrefois eu, tout le monde auroit jetté les yeux sur d'Aumont." — Histoire Universelle de Jacque-Auguste de Thou, à Londres, 1734, Tom. XII., p. 446. Vide also, Larousse; Camden's His. Queen Elizabeth, London, 1675, pp. 486, 487; Memoirs of Sully, Philadelphia, 1817, pp. 122, 210; Œuvres de Brantôme, Tom. IV., pp. 46-49; Histoire de Bretagne, par M. Daru, Paris, 1826, Vol. III. p. 319; Freer's His. Henry IV., Vol. II., p. 70.

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command of one of the three great divisions of the French army. He received a wound at the fiege of the Château de Camper, in Brittany, of which he died on the 19th of August, 1595.

De Saint Luc, already in the fervice in Brittany, as lieutenant-general under D'Aumont, continued, after the death of that officer, in fole command.15 He raifed the fiege of the Château de Camper after the death of his superior, and proceeded to capture feveral other posts, marching through the lower part of the province, repressing the license of the soldiery, and introducing order and discipline. On the 5th of September, 1596, he was appointed grand-master of the artillery of France, which terminated his special service in Brittany.

The king immediately appointed in his place Marshal de Briffac, 16 an officer of broad experience, who added other

great

15 François d'Espinay de Saint-Luc, fometimes called Le Brave Saint Luc, was born in 1554, and was killed at the battle of Amiens on the 8th of Septem-He was early appointed governor of Saintonge, and of the Fortrefs of Brouage, which he fuccefsfully defended in 1585 against the attack of the King of Navarre and the Prince de He affifted at the battle of Coutras in 1587. He served as a lieutenant-general in Brittany from 1592 to 1596. In 1594, he planned with Briffac, his brother-in-law, then governor of Paris for the League, for the furrender of Paris to Henry IV. For this he was offered the baton of a Marshal of France by the king, which he modeftly declined, and begged that it might be given to Briffac. In 1578, through the influence or Henry IV. in 1594, for which he received authority of Henry III., he married the the Marshal's baton. He died in 1621,

heirefs, Jeanne de Cosse-Brissac, sister of Charles de Cosse-Brissac, mentioned in note 16, postea, a lady of no personal attractions, but of excellent understanding and character. - Vide Courcelles' Hiftoire Généalogique des Pairs de France, Vol. II.; Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. I., pp. 163, 191; Freer's Henry III., p. 162; De Mezeray's His.

France, 1683, p. 861.

16 Charles de Cosse-Brissac, a Marshal of France and governor of Angiers. He was a member of the League as early as 1585. He conceived the idea of making France a republic after the model of ancient Rome. He laid his views before the chief Leaguers but none of them approved his plan. He delivered up Paris, of which he was governor, to

great qualities to those of an able foldier. No distinguished battles fignalized the remaining months of the civil war in this province. The exhaufted refources and faltering courage of the people could no longer be fuftained by the flatteries or promises of the Duke de Mercœur. Wherever the fquadrons of the marshal made their appearance the flag of truce was raifed, and town, city, and fortrefs vied with each other in their hafte to bring their enfigns and lay them at his feet.

On the feventh of June, 1598, the peace of Vervins was published in Paris, and the kingdom of France was a unit, with the general fatisfaction of all parties, under the able, wife, and catholic fovereign, Henry the Fourth.17

CHAPTER II.

Vide Davila, pp. 538, 584, 585; Sully, Philadelphia, 1817, Vol. I., p. 420; Brantôme, Vol. III., p. 84; His. Col-

king was to restore the County of Charolois to the king of Spain, to be by him held of the Crown of France; who in exchange reftor'd the towns of Calice, Ardres, Montbulin, Dourlens, la Capelle, and le Catelet in Picardy, and Blavet in

at the fiege of Saint Jean d'Angely.- Britanny: which Articles were Ratifi'd and Sign'd by his Majesty the eleventh of June [1598]; who in his gayety of humour, at so happy a conclusion, told lections, London, 1598, p. 35; De Thou, a Londres, 1724, Tome XII., p. 449.

17 "By the Articles of this Treaty the things, than he could of a long time have perform'd with the best Swords of his Kingdom." - Life of the Duke of Espernon, London, 1670, p. 203; Histoire du Roy Henry le Grand, par Prefixe, Paris, 1681, p. 243.

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## CHAPTER II.

QUARTER-MASTER. — VISIT TO WEST INDIES, SOUTH AMERICA, MEXICO. —
HIS REPORT. — SUGGESTS A SHIP CANAL. — VOYAGE OF 1603. — EARLIER
VOYAGES. — CARTIER, DE LA ROQUE, MARQUIS DE LA ROCHE, SIEUR
DE CHAUVIN, DE CHASTES. — PRELIMINARY VOYAGE. — RETURN TO
FRANCE. — DEATH OF DE CHASTES. — SIEUR DE MONTS OBTAINS A
CHARTER, AND PREPARES FOR AN EXPEDITION TO CANADA.



HE fervice of Champlain as quarter-mafter in the war in Brittany commenced probably with the appointment of Marshal d'Aumont to the command of the army in 1592, and, if we are right in this conjecture, it covered a period of

not far from fix years. The activity of the army, and the difficulty of obtaining fupplies in the general deftitution of the province, imposed upon him constant and perplexing duty. But in the midst of his embarrassments he was gathering up valuable experience, not only relating to the conduct of war, but to the transactions of business under a great variety of forms. He was brought into close and intimate relations with men of character, standing, and influence. The knowledge, discipline, and self-control of which he was daily becoming master were unconsciously fitting him for a career, humble though it might seem in its several stages, but nevertheless noble and potent in its relations to other generations.

At the close of the war, the army which it had called into existence was disbanded, the soldiers departed to their homes, the office of quarter-master was of necessity vacated, and Champlain was left without employment.

Casting

Casting about for some new occupation, following his instinctive love of travel and adventure, he conceived the idea of attempting an exploration of the Spanish West Indies, with the purpose of bringing back a report that should be useful to France. But this was an enterprise not easy either to inaugurate or carry out. The colonial establishments of Spain were at that time hermetically fealed against all intercourse with foreign nations. Armed ships, like watch-dogs, were ever on the alert, and foreign merchantmen entered their ports only at the peril of confiscation. It was necesfary for Spain to fend out annually a fleet, under a convoy of thips of war, for the transportation of merchandise and fupplies for the colonies, returning laden with cargoes of almost priceless value. Champlain, fertile in expedient, proposed to himself to visit Spain, and there form such acquaintances and obtain fuch influence as would fecure to him in fome way a paffage to the Indies in this annual expedition.

The Spanish forces, allies of the League in the late war, had not yet departed from the coast of France. He hastened to the port of Blavet,18 where they were about to embark, and learned to his furprife and gratification that feveral French fhips had been chartered, and that his uncle, a diffinguished French mariner, commonly known as the Provençal Cappitaine, had received orders from Marshal de Brissac to conduct the fleet, on which the garrifon of Blavet was embarked, to Cadiz in Spain. Champlain eafily arranged to accompany

18 Blavet was fituated at the mouth of other places held by the Spanish, was the River Blavet, on the fouthern coast furrendered by the treaty of Vervins, in of Brittany. Its occupation had been June, 1598. It was rebuilt and fortified granted to the Spanish by the Duke de by Louis XIII., and is now known as

Mercœur during the civil war, and, with Port Louis.

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his uncle, who was in command of the "St. Julian," a ftrong, well-built ship of five hundred tons.

Having arrived at Cadiz, and the object of the voyage having been accomplished, the French ships were dismissed, with the exception of the "St. Julian," which was retained, with the Provincial Captain, who had accepted the office of pilot-general for that year, in the service of the King of Spain.

After lingering a month at Cadiz, they proceeded to St. Lucar de Barameda, where Champlain remained three months, agreeably occupied in making observations and drawings of both city and country, including a visit to Se-

ville, fome fifty miles in the interior.

In the mean time, the fleet for the annual vifit to the West Indies, to which we have already alluded, was fitting out at Saint Lucar, and about to fail under the command of Don Francisco Colombo, who, attracted by the fize and good failing qualities of the "Saint Julian," chartered her for the voyage. The services of the pilot-general were required in another direction, and, with the approbation of Colombo, he gave the command of the "Saint Julian" to Champlain. Nothing could have been more gratifying than this appointment, which assured to Champlain a visit to the more important Spanish colonies under the most favorable circumstances.

He accordingly fet fail with the fleet, which left Saint Lucar at the beginning of January, 1599.

Paffing the Canaries, in two months and fix days they fighted the little island of Defeada, 19 the veftibule of the great

<sup>19</sup> Defeada, fignifying in Spanish the defired land.

great Caribbean archipelago, touched at Guadaloupe, wound their way among the group called the Virgins, turning to the fouth made for Margarita,20 then famous for its pearl fisheries, and from thence failed to St. Juan de Porto-rico. Here the fleet was divided into three fquadrons. One was to go to Porto-bello, on the Ishmus of Panama, another to the coast of South America, then called Terra Firma, and the third to Mexico, then known as New Spain. This latter fquadron, to which Champlain was attached, coasted along the northern shore of the island of Saint Domingo, otherwife Hifpaniola, touching at Porto Platte, Mancenilla, Mofquitoes, Monte Christo, and Saint Nicholas. Skirting the fouthern coast of Cuba, reconnoitring the Caymans, 21 they at length cast anchor in the harbor of San Juan d'Ulloa, the island fortress near Vera Cruz. While here, Champlain made an inland journey to the City of Mexico, where he remained a month. He also failed in a patache, or adviceboat, to Porto-bello, when, after a month, he returned again

the Greek μαργαρίτης, fignifying a pearl. The following account by an eye-witness will not be uninteresting: "Especially it yieldeth store of pearls, those gems which the Latin writers call Uniones, because nulli duo reperiuntur discreti, they always are found to grow in couples. In this Island there are many rich Merchants, who have thirty, forty, fifty Blackmore flaves only to fish out of the fea about the rocks thefe pearls. . . . They are let down in baskets into the Sea, and fo long continue under the water, until by pulling the rope by which they are let down, they make their fign to be taken up. . . . From Margarita

20 Margarita, a Spanish word from are all the Pearls sent to be refined and bored to Carthagena, where is a fair and goodly street of no other shops then of these Pearl dressers. Commonly in the month of July there is a ship or two at most ready in the Island to carry the King's revenue, and the Merchant's pearls to Carthagena. One of these ships is valued commonly at three score thousand or four score thousand ducats and fometimes more, and therefore are reasonable well manned; for that the Spaniards much fear our English and the Holland ships."-Vide New Survey of the West Indies, by Thomas Gage, London, 1677, p. 174. 21 Caymans, Crocodiles.

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to San Juan d'Ulloa. The fquadron then failed for Havana, from which place Champlain was commissioned to visit, on public business, Cartagena, within the present limits of New Grenada, on the coast of South America. The whole armada was finally collected together at Havana, and from thence took its departure for Spain, passing through the channel of Bahama, or Gulf of Florida, sighting Bermuda and the Azores, reaching Saint Lucar early in March, 1601, after an absence from that port of two years and two months.<sup>22</sup>

On Champlain's return to France, he prepared an elaborate report of his observations and discoveries, luminous with fixty-two illustrations sketched by his own hand. As it was his avowed purpose in making the voyage to procure information that should be valuable to his government, he undoubtedly communicated it in some form to Henry IV. The document remained in manuscript two hundred and fifty-feven years, when it was first printed at London in an English translation by the Hakluyt Society, in 1859. It is an exceedingly interesting and valuable tract, containing a lucid description of the peculiarities, manners, and customs of the people, the foil, mountains, and rivers, the trees, fruits, and plants, the animals, birds, and fishes, the rich mines found at different points, with frequent allufions to the fystem of colonial management, together with the character and fources of the vaft wealth which thefe fettlements were annually yielding to the Spanish crown.

The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> For an interesting account of the best route to and from the West Indies in order to avoid the vigilant French and York, 1874, p. 101.

The reader of this little treatife will not fail to fee the drift and tendency of Champlain's mind and character unfolded on nearly every page. His indomitable perfeverance, his careful observation, his honest purpose and amiable spirit are at all times apparent. Although a Frenchman, a foreigner, and an entire stranger in the Spanish fleet, he had won the confidence of the commander so completely, that he was allowed by special permission to visit the City of Mexico, the Isthmus of Panama, and the coast of South America, all of which were prominent and important centres of interest, but nevertheless lying beyond the circuit made by the squadron to which he was attached.

For the most part, Champlain's narrative of what he saw and of what he learned from others is given in simple terms,

without inference or comment.

His views are, however, clearly apparent in his description of the Spanish method of converting the Indians by the Inquisition, reducing them to slavery or the horrors of a cruel death, together with the retaliation practised by their surviving comrades, resulting in a milder method. This treatment of the poor savages by their more savage masters Champlain illustrates by a graphic drawing, in which two stolid Spaniards are guarding half a dozen poor wretches who are burning for their faith. In another drawing he represents a miserable victim receiving, under the eye and direction of the priest, the blows of an uplisted baton, as a penalty for not attending church.

Champlain's forecast and fertility of mind may be clearly feen in his suggestion that a ship-canal across the Isthmus of Panama would be a work of great practical utility, saving, in

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the voyage to the Pacific fide of the Isthmus, a distance of more than fifteen hundred leagues.23

As it was the policy of Spain to withhold as much as poffible all knowledge of her colonial fystem and wealth in the West Indies, we may add, that there is probably no work extant, on this fubject, written at that period, fo full, impartial, and truthful as this tract by Champlain. It was undoubtedly written out from notes and sketches made on the

28 At the time that Champlain was at the ifthmus, in 1599-1601, the gold and filver of Peru were brought to Panama, then transported on mules a distance of about four leagues to a river, known as the Rio Chagres, whence they were conveyed by water first to Chagres, and thence along the coast to Porto-bello,

and there shipped to Spain.

Champlain refers to a ship-canal in the following words: "One might judge, if the territory four leagues in extent lying between Panama and this river were cut through, he could pass from the fouth fea to that on the other fide, and thus shorten the route by more than fifteen hundred leagues. From Panama to the Straits of Magellan would conflitute an island, and from Panama to New Foundland another, fo that the whole of America would be in two islands." — Vide Brief Discours des Choses Plvs Remarquables, par Sammvel Champlain de Brovage, 1599, Quebec ed., Vol. I. p. 41. This project of a ship canal across the isthmus thus suggested by Champlain two hundred and eighty years ago is now attracting the public attention both in this country and in Europe. Several schemes are on foot for bringing it to pass, and it will undoubtedly be accomplished, if it shall be found after the most careful and thorough investigation to be within the scope of New York, 1874, p. 612.

human power, and to offer adequate commercial advantages.

Some of the difficulties to be overcome are fuggested by Mr. Marsh in the

following excerpt:-

"The most colossal project of canalization ever fuggested, whether we confider the phyfical difficulties of its execution, the magnitude and importance of the waters proposed to be united, or the distance which would be faved in navigation, is that of a channel between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific, across the Ishmus of Darien. I do not now fpeak of a lock-canal, by way of the Lake of Nicaragua, or any other route, - for fuch a work would not differ effentially from other canals and would fcarcely poffefs a geographical character, - but of an open cut between the two feas. The late furvey by Captain Selfridge, showing that the lowest point on the dividing ridge is 763 feet above the fea-level, must be considered as determining in the negative the question of the poffibility of fuch a cut, by any means now at the control of man; and both the fanguine expectations of benefits, and the dreary fuggestions of danger from the realization of this great dream, may now be difmiffed as equally chimerical." - Vide The Earth as Modified by Human Action, by George P. Marsh,

fpot, and probably occupied the early part of the two years that followed his return from this expedition, during which period we are not aware that he entered upon any other im-

portant enterprise.24

This tour among the Spanish colonies, and the description which Champlain gave of them, information fo much defired and yet fo difficult to obtain, appear to have made a ftrong and favorable impression upon the mind of Henry IV., whose quick comprehension of the character of men was one of the great qualities of this distinguished fovereign. He clearly faw that Champlain's character was made up of those elements which are indispensable in the servants of the executive will. He accordingly affigned him a penfion to enable him to refide near his perfon, and probably at the fame time honored him with a place within the charmed circle of the nobility.25

While Champlain was refiding at court, rejoicing doubtless in his new honors and full of the marvels of his recent travels, he formed the acquaintance, or perhaps renewed an old one, with Commander de Chaftes,26 for many years gov-

age to the West Indies and Mexico was made by Alice Wilmere, edited by Norton Shaw, and published by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1859.

25 No positive evidence is known to exist as to the time when Champlain was ennobled. It feems most likely to have been in acknowledgment of his valuable report made to Henry IV. after his vifit to the West Indies.

<sup>26</sup> Amyar de Chastes died on the 13th

24 A translation of Champlain's Voy- charged by his government with many important and responsible duties. In 1583, he was fent by Henry III., or rather by Catherine de Médicis, to the Azores with a military force to fustain the claims of Antonio, the Prior of Crato, to the throne of Portugal. He was a warm friend and fupporter of Henry IV., and took an active part in the battles of Ivry and Arques. He commanded the French fleet on the coafts of Brittany; and, during the long struggle of this monarch with internal enemies and exof May, 1603, greatly respected and beloved by his fellow-citizens. He was ternal foes, he was in frequent communi10 years

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ernor of Dieppe, who had given a long life to the fervice of his country, both by fea 27 and by land, and was a warm and attached friend of Henry IV. The enthusiasm of the young voyager and the long experience of the old commander made their interviews mutually inftructive and entertaining. De Chastes had observed and studied with great interest the recent efforts at colonization on the coast of North America. His zeal had been kindled and his ardor deepened doubtlefs by the glowing recitals of his young friend. It was eafy for him to believe that France, as well as Spain, might gather in the golden fruits of colonization. The territory claimed by France was farther to the north, in climate and in fources of wealth widely different, and would require a different management. He had determined, therefore, to fend out an expedition for the purpose of obtaining more definite information than he already poffeffed, with the view to furrender fubsequently his government of Dieppe, take up his abode in the new world, and there dedicate his remaining years to the fervice of God and his king. He accordingly obtained

cation with the English to secure their Paris, 1846, p. 296; Freer's Life of co-operation, particularly against the Henry IV., Vol. I. p. 121, et passin; Spanish. He accompanied the Duke Memoirs of Sully, Philadelphia, 1817, de Boullon, the distinguished Huguenot nobleman, to England, to be present and witness the oath of Oueen Elizabeth to the treaty made with France.

On this occasion he received a valuable jewel as a prefent from the English queen. He afterwards directed the ceremonies and entertainment of the Earl of Shrewfbury, who was deputed to receive the ratification of the before-mentioned treaty by Henry IV. Vide Busk's His. Spain and Portugal, London, 1833, p. 129 et passim; Denis' His. Portugal,

Vol. I. p. 204; Birch's Memoirs Queen Elizabeth, London, 1754, Vol. II. pp. 121, 145, 151, 154, 155; Asselini MSS. Chron., cited by Shaw in Nar. Voyage to West Ind. and Mexico, Hakluyt Soc.,

1859, p. xv.
27 "Au même tems les nouvelles vinrent. . . . . . que le Commandeur de Chastes dressoit une grande Armée de Mer en Bretagne." - Journal de Henri III. (1586), Paris, 1744, Tom. III. p.

279.

obtained a commission from the king, associating with himself fome of the principal merchants of Rouen and other cities, and made preparations for defpatching a pioneer fleet to reconnoitre and fix upon a proper place for fettlement, and to determine what equipment would be necessary for the convenience and comfort of the colony. He fecured the fervices of Pont Gravé, 28 a distinguished merchant and Canadian furtrader, to conduct the expedition. Having laid his views open fully to Champlain, he invited him also to join the exploring party, as he defired the opinion and advice of fo careful an observer as to a proper plan of future operations.

No proposition could have been more agreeable to Champlain than this, and he expressed himself quite ready for the enterprife, provided De Chastes would secure the consent of the king, to whom he was under very great obligations. De Chastes readily obtained the defired permission, coupled, however, with an order from the king to Champlain to bring back to him a faithful report of the voyage. Leaving Paris, Champlain haftened to Honfleur, armed with a letter of inftructions from M. de Gesures, the secretary of the king, to Pont Gravé, directing him to receive Champlain and afford him every facility for feeing and exploring the country which they were about to vifit. They failed for the shores of the New World on the 15th of March, 1603.

The reader should here observe that anterior to this date no colonial fettlement had been made on the northern coasts of

America.

28 Du Pont Gravé was a merchant of He was greatly respected by Champlain, St. Malo. He had been affociated with and was closely affociated with him till Chauvin in the Canada trade, and continued to vifit the St. Lawrence for this bec, he appears to have retired, forced

purpose almost yearly for thirty years. to do so by the infirmities of age.

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These regions had, however, been frequented by European fishermen at a very early period, certainly within the decade after its difcovery by John Cabot in 1497. But the Basques, Bretons, and Normans,29 who visited these coasts, were intent upon their employment, and consequently brought home only meagre information of the country from whose shores they yearly bore away rich cargoes of fish.

The first voyage made by the French for the purpose of discovery in our northern waters of which we have any authentic record was by Jacques Cartier in 1534, and another was made for the fame purpose by this distinguished navigator in 1535. In the former, he coasted along the shores of Newfoundland, entered and gave its prefent name to the Bay of Chaleur, and at Gaspé took formal possession of the country in the name of the king. In the fecond, he afcended the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal, then an Indian village known by the aborigines as Hochelaga, fituated on an island at the base of an eminence which they named Mont-Royal, from which the present commercial metropolis of the Dominion derives its name. After a winter of great fuffering, which they paffed on the St. Charles, near Quebec, and the death of many of his company, Cartier returned to France early in the fummer of 1536. In 1541, he made a third voyage, under the patronage of François de la Roque, Lord de Roberval, a nobleman of Picardy. He failed up the St. Law-

29 Jean Parmentier, of Dieppe, author and citations in Pioneers of France in the New World, pp. 171, 172. The above is doubtlefs the authority on which the early writers, such as Pierre Biard, Champlain, and others, make the year 1504 the period when the French voyages for fishing commenced.

of the Discorso d'un gran capitano in Ramufio, Vol. III., p. 423, wrote in the year 1539, and he fays the Bretons and Normans were in our northern waters thirty-five years before, which would be in 1504. Vide Mr. Parkman's learned note

rence, anchoring probably at the mouth of the river Cap Rouge, about four leagues above Quebec, where he built a fort which he named Charlesbourg-Royal. Here he passed another dreary and disheartening winter, and returned to France in the fpring of 1542. His patron, De Roberval, who had failed to fulfil his intention to accompany him the preceding year, met him at St. John, Newfoundland. In vain Roberval urged and commanded him to retrace his courfe; but the refolute old navigator had too recent an experience and faw too clearly the inevitable obstacles to fuccess in their undertaking to be diverted from his purpofe. Roberval proceeded up the Saint Lawrence, apparently to the fort just abandoned by Cartier, which he repaired and occupied the next winter, naming it Roy-François; 30 but the difafters which followed, the fickness and death of many of his company, foon forced him, likewife, to abandon the enterprife and return to France.

Of these voyages, Cartier, or rather his pilot-general, has left full and elaborate reports, giving interesting and detailed accounts of the mode of life among the aborigines, and of the character and products of the country.

The entire want of fuccess in all these attempts, and the absorbing and wasting civil wars in France, paralyzed the zeal and put to rest all aspirations for colonial adventure for more than half a century.

But in 1598, when peace again began to dawn upon the nation, the spirit of colonization revived, and the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, obtained a royal com-

80 Vide Voyage of Iohn Alphonse of Xanctoigne, Hakluyt, Vol. III., p. 293.

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mission with extraordinary and exclusive powers of government and trade, identical with those granted to Roberval nearly fixty years before. Having fitted out a veffel and placed on board forty convicts gathered out of the prisons of France, he embarked for the northern coasts of America. The first land he made was Sable Island, a most forlorn fandheap rifing out of the Atlantic Ocean, some thirty leagues foutheast of Cape Breton. Here he left these wretched criminals to be the strength and hope, the bone and finew of the little kingdom which, in his fancy, he pictured to himfelf rifing under his foftering care in the New World. While reconnoitring the mainland, probably fome part of Nova Scotia, for the purpose of selecting a suitable location for his intended fettlement, a furious gale fwept him from the coaft, and, either from necessity or inclination, he returned to France, leaving his hopeful colonifts to a fate hardly furpassed by that of Selkirk himself, and at the same time dismiffing the bright vifions that had fo long haunted his mind, of perfonal aggrandizement at the head of a colonial eftablishment.

The next year, 1599, Sieur de Saint Chauvin, of Normandy, a captain in the royal marine, at the fuggestion of Pont Gravé, of Saint Malo, an experienced fur-trader, to whom we have already referred, and who had made several voyages to the northwest anterior to this, obtained a commission sufficiently comprehensive, amply providing for a colonial settlement and the propagation of the Christian faith, with, indeed, all the privileges accorded by that of the Marquis de la Roche. But the chief and present object which Chauvin and Pont Gravé hoped to attain was the monopoly of

of the fur trade, which they had good reason to believe they could at that time conduct with success. Under this commission, an expedition was accordingly fitted out and failed for Tadoussac. Successful in its main object, with a full cargo of valuable furs, they returned to France in the autumn, leaving, however, sixteen men, some of whom perished during the winter, while the rest were rescued from the same fate by the charity of the Indians. In the year 1600, Chauvin made another voyage, which was equally remunerative, and a third had been projected on a much broader scale, when his death intervened and prevented its execution.

The death of Sieur de Chauvin appears to have vacated his commission, at least practically, opening the way for another, which was obtained by the Commander de Chaftes, whose expedition, accompanied by Champlain, as we have already feen, left Honfleur on the 15th of March, 1603. It confifted of two barques of twelve or fifteen tons, one commanded by Pont Gravé, and the other by Sieur Prevert, of Saint Malo, and was probably accompanied by one or more advice-boats. They took with them two Indians who had been in France fome time, doubtlefs brought over by De Chauvin on his last voyage. With favoring winds, they soon reached the banks of Newfoundland, fighted Cape Ray, the northern point of the Island of Cape Breton, Anticosti and Gaspé, coasting along the southern side of the river Saint Lawrence as far as the Bic, where, croffing over to the northern shore, they anchored in the harbor of Tadoussac. After reconnoitring the Saguenay twelve or fifteen leagues, leaving their veffels at Tadouffac, where an active fur trade was in progress with the Indians, they proceeded up the St.

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Lawrence in a light boat, paffed Quebec, the Three Rivers, Lake St. Peter, the Richelieu, which they called the river of the Iroquois, making an excursion up this stream five or fix leagues, and then, continuing their course, passing Montreal, they finally cast anchor on the northern side, at the foot of the Falls of St. Louis, not being able to proceed further in their boat.

Having previously constructed a skiff for the purpose, Pont Gravé and Champlain, with five failors and two Indians with a canoe, attempted to pass the falls. But after a long and persevering trial, exploring the shores on foot for some miles, they found any further progress quite impossible with their present equipment. They accordingly abandoned the undertaking and set out on their return to Tadoussac. They made short stops at various points, enabling Champlain to pursue his investigations with thoroughness and deliberation. He interrogated the Indians as to the course and extent of the St. Lawrence, as well as that of the other large rivers, the location of the lakes and falls, and the outlines and general features of the country, making rude drawings or maps to illustrate what the Indians found difficult otherwise to explain.<sup>31</sup>

The favages also exhibited to them specimens of native copper, which they represented as having been obtained from the distant north, doubtless from the neighborhood of Lake Superior. On reaching Tadoussac, they made another excursion in one of the barques as far as Gaspé, observing the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Compare the refult of these inquiries as stated by Champlain, p. 252 of this vol. and *New Voyages*, by Baron

rivers, bays, and coves along the route. When they had completed their trade with the Indians and had fecured from them a valuable collection of furs, they commenced their return voyage to France, touching at feveral important points, and obtaining from the natives fome general hints in regard to the existence of certain mines about the head waters of

the Bay of Fundy.

Before leaving, one of the Sagamores placed his fon in charge of Pont Gravé, that he might fee the wonders of France, thus exhibiting a commendable appreciation of the advantages of foreign travel. They also obtained the gift of an Iroquois woman, who had been taken in war, and was foon to be immolated as one of the victims at a cannibal feast. Besides these, they took with them also four other natives, a man from the coast of La Cadie, and a woman and two boys from Canada.

The two little barques left Gaspé on the 24th of August; on the 5th of September they were at the fishing stations on the Grand Banks, and on the 20th of the same month arrived at Havre de Grâce, having been absent six months

and fix days.

Champlain received on his arrival the painful intelligence that the Commander de Chaftes, his friend and patron, under whose auspices the late expedition had been conducted, had died on the 13th of May preceding. This event was a personal grief as well as a serious calamity to him, as it deprived him of an intimate and valued friend, and cast a cloud over the bright visions that floated before him of discoveries and colonies in the New World. He lost no time in repairing to the court, where he laid before his sovereign, Henry IV.,

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fovereign Henry IV Henry IV., a map conftructed by his own hand of the regions which he had just visited, together with a very particular narrative of the voyage.

This "petit difcours," as Champlain calls it, is a clear, compact, well-drawn paper, containing an account of the character and products of the country, its trees, plants, fruits, and vines, with a defcription of the native inhabitants, their mode of living, their clothing, food and its preparation, their banquets, religion, and method of burying their dead, with many other interesting particulars relating to their habits and customs.

Henry IV. manifested a deep interest in Champlain's narrative. He listened to its recital with great apparent satisfaction, and by way of encouragement promised not to abandon the undertaking, but to continue to bestow upon it his royal favor and patronage.

There chanced at this time to be refiding at court, a Huguenot gentleman who had been a faithful adherent of Henry IV. in the late war, Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, gentleman ordinary to the king's chamber, and governor of Pons in Saintonge. This nobleman had made a trip for pleasure or recreation to Canada with De Chauvin, several years before, and had learned something of the country, and especially of the advantages of the fur trade with the Indians. He was quite ready, on the death of De Chastes, to take up the enterprise which, by this event, had been brought to a sudden and disastrous termination. He immediately devised a scheme for the establishment of a colony under the patronage of a company to be composed of merchants of Rouen, Rochelle, and of other places, their contributions for cover-

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ing the expense of the enterprise to be supplemented, if not rendered entirely unnecessary, by a trade in furs and peltry

to be conducted by the company.

In less than two months after the return of the last expedition, De Monts had obtained from Henry IV., though contrary to the advice of his most influential minister,32 a charter constituting him the king's lieutenant in La Cadie, with all necessary and defirable powers for a colonial settlement. The grant included the whole territory lying between the 40th and 46th degrees of north latitude. Its fouthern boundary was on a parallel of Philadelphia, while its northern was on a line extended due west from the most easterly point of the Island of Cape Breton, cutting New Brunswick on a parallel near Fredericton, and Canada near the junction of the river Richelieu and the St. Lawrence. It will be observed that the parts of New France at that time best known were not included in this grant, viz., Lake St. Peter, Three Rivers, Quebec, Tadouffac, Gaspé, and the Bay Cha-These were points of great importance, and had doubtless been left out of the charter by an overfight arising from an almost total want of a definite geographical knowledge of our northern coaft. Justly apprehending that the places above mentioned might not be included within the limits of his grant, De Monts obtained, the next month, an extension of the bounds of his exclusive right of trade, so that

82 The Duke of Sully's difapproba- to be expected from all those countries of the new world, which are beyond the words: "The colony, that was fent to fortieth degree of latitude. His majefty gave the conduct of this expedition to the Sieur du Mont." - Memoirs of Sully,

tion is expressed in the following Canada this year, was among the number of those things that had not my approbation; there was no kind of riches Philadelphia, 1817, Vol. III. p. 185.

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that it should comprehend the whole region of the gulf and river of St. Lawrence.33

The following winter, 1603-4, was devoted by De Monts to organizing his company, the collection of a fuitable band of colonists, and the necessary preparations for the voyage. His commission authorized him to seize any idlers in the city or country, or even convicts condemned to transportation, to make up the bone and finew of the colony. To what extent he reforted to this method of filling his ranks, we know not. Early in April he had gathered together about a hundred and twenty artifans of all trades, laborers, and foldiers, who were embarked upon two ships, one of 120 tons, under the direction of Sieur de Pont Gravé, commanded, however, by Captain Morel, of Honfleur; another of 150 tons, on which De Monts himself embarked with several noblemen and gentlemen, having Captain Timothée, of Havre de Grâce, as commander.

De Monts extended to Champlain an invitation to join the expedition, which he readily accepted, but, nevertheless, on the condition, as in the previous voyage, of the king's affent, which was freely granted, nevertheless with the command that he should prepare a faithful report of his observations and discoveries.

CHAPTER III.

83 "Frequenter, negocier, et commuquemin, Tadoussac, et la riviere de quer durant ledit temps de dix ans, Canada, tant d'un côté que d'autre, et depuis le Cap de Raze jusques au qua- toutes les Bayes et rivieres qui entrent au dedans desdites côtes."- Extract of Commission, Histoire de la Nouvelle-France, par Lescarbot, Paris, 1866, Vol.

niquer durant ledit temps de dix ans, rantiéme degré, comprenant toute la côte de la Cadie, terre et Cap Breton, Bayes de Sainct-Cler, de Chaleur, Ile Percée, Gachepé, Chinfchedec, Mesamichi, Les- II. p. 416.

## CHAPTER III.

DE MONTS LEAVES FOR LA CADIE — THE COASTS OF NOVA SCOTIA. — THE BAY OF FUNDY. — SEARCH FOR COPPER MINE. — CHAMPLAIN EXPLORES THE PENOBSCOT. — DE MONTS'S ISLAND. — SUFFERINGS OF THE COLONY. — EXPLORATION OF THE COAST AS FAR AS NAUSET, ON CAPE COD.



E MONTS, with Champlain and the other noblemen, left Havre de Grâce on the 7th April, 1604, while Pont Gravé, with the other veffel, followed three days later, to rendezvous at Canfeau.

Taking a more foutherly course than he had originally intended, De Monts came in fight of La Hève on the 8th of May, and on the 12th entered Liverpool harbor, where he found Captain Rossignol, of Havre de Grâce, carrying on a contraband trade in furs with the Indians, whom he arrested, and confiscated his vessel.

The next day they anchored at Port Mouton, where they lingered three or four weeks, awaiting news from Pont Gravé, who had in the mean time arrived at Canfeau, the rendezvous agreed upon before leaving France. Pont Gravé had there difcovered feveral Bafque ships engaged in the furtrade. Taking possession of them, he fent their masters to De Monts. The ships were subsequently confiscated and fent to Rochelle.

Captain Fouques was defpatched to Canfeau in the veffel which had been taken from Roffignol, to bring forward the fupplies which had been brought over by Pont Gravé.

Having transshipped the provisions intended for the colony, Pont Gravé TIA. - TE

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Pont Gravé proceeded through the Straits of Canfeau up the St. Lawrence, to trade with the Indians, upon the profits of which the company relied largely for replenishing their treafury.

In the mean time Champlain was fent in a barque of eight tons, with the fecretary Sieur Ralleau, Mr. Simon, the miner, and ten men, to reconnoitre the coast towards the west. Sailing along the shore, touching at numerous points, doubling Cape Sable, he entered the Bay of Fundy, and after exploring St. Mary's Bay, and discovering several mines of both filver and iron, returned to Port Mouton and made to De Monts a minute and careful report.

De Monts immediately weighed anchor and failed for the Bay of St. Mary, where he left his veffel, and, with Champlain, the miner, and fome others, proceeded to explore the Bay of Fundy. They entered and examined Annapolis harbor, coafted along the western shores of Nova Scotia, touching at the Bay of Mines, paffing over to New Brunfwick, skirting its whole southeastern coast, entering the harbor of St. John, and finally penetrating Paffamaquoddy Bay as far as the mouth of the river St. Croix, and fixed upon De Monts's Island 34 as the feat of their colony. The vessel

Champlain fays: "This place was named by Sieur De Monts the Island of St. Croix."—Vide Vol. II. p. 32, note 86. St. Croix has now for a long time been applied as the name of the river in which this island is found. The French denominated this stream the River of the Etechemins, after the name of the tribe of favages inhabiting its shores. Vide Vol. II. p. 31. It continued to be fo called for a long time. Denys fpeaks of it under this name in 1672. "Depuis

84 De Monts's Island. Of this island la riviere de Pentagoüet, jusques à celle de faint Jean, il peut y avoir quarante à quarante cinq lieuës; la premiere riviere que l'on rencontre le long de la coste, est celle des Etechemins, qui porte le nom du pays, depuis Baston jusques au Port royal, dont les Sauvages qui habitent toute cette étenduë, portent auffi le mesme nom." - Description Geographique et Historique des Costes de L'Amerique Septentrionale, par Nicholas Denys, Paris, 1672, p. 29, et verso.

at St. Mary's with the colonists was ordered to join them, and immediately active measures were taken for laying out gardens, erecting dwellings and storehouses, and all the necessary preparations for the coming winter. Champlain was commissioned to design and lay out the town, if so it could be called.

When the work was fomewhat advanced, he was fent in a barque of five or fix tons, manned with nine failors, to fearch for a mine of pure copper, which an Indian named Meffamoüet had affured them he could point out to them on the coast towards the river St. John. Some twenty-five miles from the river St. Croix, they found a mine yielding eighteen per cent, as estimated by the miner; but they did not discover any pure copper, as they had hoped.

On the last day of August, 1604, the vessel which had brought out the colony, together with that which had been taken from Rossignol, took their departure for the shores of France. In it sailed Poutrincourt, Ralleau the secretary of

De Monts, and Captain Roffignol.

From the moment of his arrival on the coast of America, Champlain employed his leifure hours in making sketches and drawings of the most important rivers, harbors, and In-

dian fettlements which they had vifited.

While the little colony at De Monts's Island was active in getting its appointments arranged and fettled, De Monts wisely determined, though he could not accompany it himself, nevertheless to fend out an expedition during the mild days of autumn, to explore the region still further to the south, then called by the Indians Norumbegue. Greatly to the satisfaction of Champlain, he was personally charged with

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this important expedition. He fet out on the 2d of September, in a barque of feventeen or eighteen tons, with twelve failors and two Indian guides. The inevitable fogs of that region detained them nearly a fortnight before they were able to leave the banks of Paffamaquoddy. Paffing along the rugged shores of Maine, with its endless chain of islands rifing one after another into view, which they called the Ranges, they at length came to the ancient Pemetiq, lying close in to the shore, having the appearance at sea of seven or eight mountains drawn together and fpringing from the fame base. This Champlain named Monts Deserts, which we have anglicized into Mount Defert,35 an appellation which has furvived the viciffitudes of two hundred and feventy-five years, and now that the ifland, with its falubrious air and cool shades, its bold and picturesque scenery, is attracting thousands from the great cities during the heats of fummer, the name is likely to abide far down into a diftant and indefinite future.

Leaving Mount Defert, winding their way among numerous islands, taking a northerly direction, they soon entered the Penobscot,36 known by the early navigators as the river Norumbegue.

85 Champlain had, by his own explorations and by confulting the Indians, obtained a very full and accurate knowledge of this island at his first visit, on the 5th of September, 1604, when he named it Monts-déserts, which we preserve in the English form, Mount DESERT. He observed that the distance across the channel to the mainland on the north fide was lefs than a hundred paces. The rocky and barren fummits of this cluster of little mountains obviously induced him to give to the island its appropriate or "at the descending rock." Vide

and descriptive name. Vide Vol. II. p. 39. Dr. Edward Ballard derives the Indian name of this island, Pemetiq, from pemé'te, floping, and ki, land. He adds that it probably denoted a fingle locality which was taken by Biard's company as the name of the whole ifland. Vide Report of U.S. Coast Sur-

vey for 1868, p. 253.

86 Penobscot is a corruption of the Abnaki panna∞anbskek. A nearly exact translation is "at the fall of the rock," Trumball's

Norumbegue. They proceeded up the river as far as the mouth of an affluent now known as the Kenduskeag,37 which was then called, or rather the place where it made a junction with the Penobscot was called by the natives, Kadefquit, situated at the head of tide-water, near the prefent fite of the city of Bangor. The falls above the city intercepted their further progrefs. The river-banks about the harbor were fringed with a luxurious growth of forest trees. On one fide, lofty pines reared their gray trunks, forming a natural palifade along the shore. On the other, massive oaks alone were to be feen, lifting their flurdy branches to the skies, gathered into clumps or stretching out into long lines, as if a landscape gardener had planted them to please the eye and gratify the tafte. An exploration revealed the whole furrounding region clothed in a fimilar wild and primitive beauty.

After a leifurely furvey of the country, they returned to the mouth of the river. Contrary to what might have been expected, Champlain found fcarcely any inhabitants dwelling on the borders of the Penobscot. Here and there they saw a few deserted wigwams, which were the only marks of human occupation. At the mouth of the river, on the borders

th of

Trumball's Ind. Geog. Names, Collections Conn. His. Society, Vol. II. p. 19. This name was originally given probably to fome part of the river to which its meaning was particularly applicable. This may have been at the mouth of the river a Fort Point, a rocky elevation not lefs than eighty feet in height. Or it may have been the "fall of water coming down a flope of feven or eight feet," as Champlain expresses it, a short distance above the site of the present city of Bangor. That this name was first obtained

Trumball's Ind. Geog. Names, Collections Conn. His. Society, Vol. II. p. 19.
This name was originally given probably fupposition.

or. Edward Ballard supposes the original name of this stream, Kadesquit, to be derived from kaht, a Micmac word for eel, denoting eel stream, now corrupted into Kenduskeag. The present site of the city of Bangor is where Biard intended to establish his mission in 1613, but he was finally induced to fix it at Mount Desert. —Vide Relations des Fésuites, Ouebec ed., Vol. I. p. 44.

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of Penobscot Bay, the native inhabitants were numerous. They were of a friendly disposition, and gave their visitors a cordial welcome, readily entered into negotiations for the fale of beaver-skins, and the two parties mutually agreed to maintain a friendly intercourse in the future.

Having obtained from the Indians fome valuable information as to the fource of the Penobscot, and observed their mode of life, which did not differ from that which they had feen still further east, Champlain departed on the 20th of September, directing his course towards the Kennebec. But, encountering bad weather, he found it necessary to take shelter under the lee of the island of Monhegan.

After failing three or four leagues farther, finding that his provisions would not warrant the continuance of the voyage, he determined, on the 23d of September, to return to the fettlement at Saint Croix, or what is now known as De Monts's Island, where they arrived on the 2d day of October, 1604.

De Monts's Island, having an area of not more than fix or feven acres, is fituated in the river Saint Croix, midway between its opposite shores, directly upon the dividing line between the townships of Calais and Robinston in the State of Maine. At the northern end of the island, the buildings of the fettlement were clustered together in the form of a quadrangle with an open court in the centre. First came the magazine and lodgings of the foldiers, then the manfion of the governor, De Monts, furmounted by the colors of France. Houses for Champlain and the other gentlemen,38 for the curé, the artifans and workmen, filled up

<sup>38</sup> The other gentlemen whose names Champdoré, Beaumont, la Motte Bouwe have learned were Meffieurs d'Orville, rioli, Fougeray or Foulgeré de Vitré,

and completed the quadrangle. Below the houses, gardens were laid out for the several gentlemen, and at the southern extremity of the island cannon were mounted for protection

against a sudden assault.

In the ample forests of Maine or New Brunswick, rich in oak and maple and pine, abounding in deer, partridge, and other wild game, watered by crystal fountains springing from every acre of the foil, we naturally picture for our colonists a winter of robust health, physical comfort, and focial enjoyment. The little island which they had chosen was indeed a charming fpot in a fummer's day, but we can hardly comprehend in what view it could have been regarded as fuitable for a colonial plantation. In space it was wholly inadequate; it was deftitute of wood and fresh water, and its soil was fandy and unproductive. In fixing the location of their fettlement and in the conftruction of their houses, it is obvious that they had entirely misapprehended the character of the climate. While the latitude was nearly the fame, the temperature was far more rigorous than that of the funny France which they had left. The fnow began to fall on the 6th of October. On the 3d of December the ice was feen floating on the furface of the water. As the feason advanced, and the tide came and went, huge floes of ice, day after day, fwept by the ifland, rendering it impracticable to navigate the river or pass over to the mainland. They were therefore imprisoned in their own home. Thus cut off from the game with which the neighboring forests abounded, they were compelled to fubfift almost exclusively upon falted

Geneflou, Sourin, and Boulay. The mentioned from time to time, is variorthography of the names, as they are ous.

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Nearly all the forest trees on the island had been used in the construction of their houses, and they had consequently but a meagre fupply of fuel to refift the chilling winds and penetrating frosts. For fresh water, their only reliance was upon melted fnow and ice. Their store-house had not been furnished with a cellar, and the frost left nothing untouched; even cider was difpenfed in folid blocks. To crown the gloom and wretchedness of their situation, the colony was visited with disease of a virulent and fatal character. As the malady was beyond the knowledge, fo it baffled the skill of the surgeons. They called it mal de la terre. Of the feventy-nine perfons, composing the whole number of the colony, thirty-five died, and twenty others were brought to the verge of the grave. In May, having been liberated from the baleful influence of their winter prison and revived by the genial warmth of the vernal fun and by the fresh meats obtained from the savages, the disease abated, and the furvivors gradually regained their strength.

Disheartened by the bitter experiences of the winter, the governor, having fully determined to abandon his present establishment, ordered two boats to be constructed, one of fifteen and the other of seven tons, in which to transport his colony to Gaspé, in case he received no supplies from France, with the hope of obtaining a passage home in some of the fishing vessels on that coast. But from this disagreeable alternative he was happily relieved. On the 15th of June, 1605, Pont Gravé arrived, to the great joy of the little colony, with all needed supplies. The purpose of returning to France was at once abandoned, and, as no time was to be lost, on the 18th of the same month, De Monts, Champlain, several

feveral gentlemen, twenty failors, two Indians, Panounias and his wife, fet fail for the purpose of discovering a more eligible fite for his colony fomewhere on the shores of the prefent New England. Paffing flowly along the coast, with which Champlain was already familiar, and confequently without extensive explorations, they at length reached the waters of the Kennebec,39 where the furvey of the previous year had terminated and that of the prefent was about to begin.

On the 5th of July, they entered the Kennebec, and, bearing to the right, passed through Back River,40 grazing their barque on the rocks in the narrow channel, and then fweeping down round the fouthern point of Jerremifquam Island, or Westport, they ascended along its eastern shores till they came near the present site of Wiscasset, from whence they returned on the western side of the island, through Monseag Bay, and threading the narrow paffage between Arrowfick and Woolwich, called the Upper Hell-gate, and again entering the Kennebec, they finally reached Merrymeeting Bay. Lingering here but a short time, they returned through the Sagadahock, or lower Kennebec, to the mouth of the river.

This exploration did not yield to the voyagers any very interesting or important refults. Several friendly interviews were held with the favages at different points along the route. Near the head waters of the Sheepscot, probably in Wifcaffet Bay, they had an interview, an interesting and joy-

de la Nouvelle France, Relations des ni-pi-ohke, meaning "long water place," féfuites, Quebec ed., Vol. I. p. 35, writes it Quinibequi, and Champlain writes it Quinibequy and Quinebequi; hence Mr. Trumball infers that it is 40 Vide Vol. II. note 110.

<sup>89</sup> Kennebec. Biard, in the Relation probably equivalent in meaning to quin-

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ous meeting, with the chief Manthoumerme and his twentyfive or thirty followers, with whom they exchanged tokens of friendship. Along the shores of the Sheepscot their attention was attracted by feveral pleafant streams and fine expanses of meadow; but the foil observed on this expedition generally, and especially on the Sagadahock,41 or lower Kennebec, was rough and barren, and offered, in the judgment of De Monts and Champlain, no eligible fite for a new fettlement.

Proceeding, therefore, on their voyage, they ftruck directly across Casco Bay, not attempting, in their ignorance, to enter the fine harbor of Portland.

On the 9th of July, they made the bay that stretches from Cape Elizabeth to Fletcher's Neck, and anchored under the lee of Stratton Island, directly in fight of Old Orchard Beach, now a famous watering place during the fummer months.

The favages having feen the little French barque approaching in the distance, had built fires to attract its attention, and came down upon the shore at Prout's Neck, formerly known as Black Point, in large numbers, indicating their friendliness by lively demonstrations of joy. From this anchorage, while awaiting the influx of the tide to enable them to pass over the bar and enter a river which they saw flowing into the bay, De Monts paid a vifit to Richmond's Island,

J. H. Trumball, Col. Conn. His. Society, 1868, p. 258.

<sup>41</sup> Sagadahock. This name is par- Vol. II. p. 30. Dr. Edward Ballard ticularly applied to the lower part of derives it from fanktai-i-wi, to finish, the Kennebec. It is from the Abnaki, and onk, a locative, "the finishing place,' fanghede'aki, "land at the mouth." — which means the mouth of a river. — Vide Indian Geographical Names, by Vide Report of U. S. Coast Survey,

Island, about four miles distant, with which he was greatly delighted, as he found it richly fludded with oak and hickory, whose bending branches were wreathed with luxuriant grapevines loaded with green clufters of unripe fruit. In honor of the god of wine, they gave to the island the classic name of Bacchus.42 At full tide they passed over the bar and cast anchor within the channel of the Saco.

The Indians whom they found here were called Almouchiquois, and differed in many respects from any which they had feen before, from the Sourequois of Nova Scotia and the Etechemins of the northern part of Maine and New Brunswick. They spoke a different language, and, unlike their neighbors on the east, did not fubfist mainly by the chase, but upon the products of the soil, supplemented by fish, which were plentiful and of excellent quality, and which they took with facility about the mouth of the river. De Monts and Champlain made an excursion upon the shore, where their eyes were refreshed by fields of waving corn, and gardens of fquashes, beans, and pumpkins, which were then burfting into flower.43 Here they saw in cultivation

mond's Island, as we have stated in Vol. II. note 123. It will be admitted that it will be feen that Bacchus Island is represented by the number 50, which is either Richmond's Island or one of those placed over against the largest island in in the bay of the Saco. Champlain does not give a specific name to any of the islands in the bay, as may be seen by referring to the explanations of his map of the bay, Vol. II. p. 65. If one of them had been Bacchus Island, he would not have failed to refer to it, according to his uniform cuftom, under that name. Hence it is certain that his Bacchus Is not wanting.

Ifland was not one of those figured on

48 Vide Vol. II. pp. 64-67. Island was not one of those figured on

42 Bacchus Island. This was Rich- his local map of the bay of the Saco. By reference to the large map of 1632, the neighborhood and that farthest to the east, which, of course, must be Richmond's Island. It is, however, proper to state that these reference figures are not in general fo carefully placed as to enable us to rely upon them in fixing a locality, particularly if unsupported by other evidence. But in this case other evidence

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the rank narcotic petun, or tobacco,44 just beginning to spread out its broad velvet leaves to the sun, the sole luxury of savage life. The forests were thinly wooded, but were nevertheless rich in primitive oak, in losty ash and elm, and in the more humble and sturdy beech. As on Richmond's Island so here, along the bank of the river they sound grapes in luxurious growth, from which the sailors busied themselves in making verjuice, a delicious beverage in the meridian heats of a July sun. The natives were gentle and amiable, graceful in figure, agile in movement, and exhibited unusual taste, dressing their hair in a variety of twists and braids, intertwined with ornamental feathers.

Champlain observed their method of cultivating Indian corn, which the experience of two hundred and seventy-five years has in no essential point improved or even changed. They planted three or four seeds in hills three seet apart, and heaped the earth about them, and kept the soil clear of weeds. Such is the method of the successful New England farmer to-day. The experience of the savage had taught him how many individuals of the rank plant could occupy prolifically a given area, how the soil must be gathered about the roots to sustain the heavy stock, and that there must be no rival near it to draw away the nutriment on which the voracious plant seeds and grows. Civilization has invented implements to facilitate the processes of culture, but the observation of the savage had led him to a knowledge of all that is absolutely necessary to ensure a prolific harvest.

After lingering two days at Saco, our explorers proceeded

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Nicotiana rustica. Vide Vol. II. by Charles Pickering, M.D. Boston, note 130. Chronological His. Plants, 1879. p. 741, et passim.

on their voyage. When they had advanced not more than twenty miles, driven by a fierce wind, they were forced to cast anchor near the salt marshes of Wells. Having been driven by Cape Porpoise, on the subsidence of the wind, they returned to it, reconnoitred its harbor and adjacent islands, together with Little River, a few miles still further to the east. The shores were lined all along with nut-trees and grape-vines. The islands about Cape Porpoise were matted all over with wild currants, so that the eye could scarcely discern any thing else. Attracted doubtless by this fruit, clouds of wild pigeons had assembled there, and were having a mid-summer's session. Large numbers of them were taken, which added a coveted luxury to the not over-stocked larder of the little French barque.

On the 15th of July, De Monts and his party left Cape Porpoife, keeping in and following closely the finuofities of the shore. They faw no favages during the day, nor any evidences of any, except a rifing fmoke, which they approached, but found to be a lone beacon, without any furroundings of human life. Those who had kindled the fire had doubtless concealed themselves, or had fled in dismay. Possibly they had never feen a ship under fail. The fishermen who frequented our northern coast rarely came into these waters, and the little craft of our voyagers, moving without oars or any apparent human aid, feemed doubtless to them a monster gliding upon the wings of the wind. At the fetting of the fun, they were near the flat and fandy coast, now known as Wallace's Sands. They fought in vain for a roadstead where they might anchor fafely for the night. When they were opposite nore the

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opposite to Little Boar's Head, with the Isles of Shoals directly east of them, and the reflected rays of the sun were still throwing their light upon the waters, they saw in the distance the dim outline of Cape Anne, whither they directed their course, and, before morning, came to anchor near its eastern extremity, in sixteen fathoms of water. Near them were the three well-known islands at the apex of the cape, covered with forest-trees, and the woodless cluster of rocks, now called the Savages, a little further from the shore.

The next morning five or fix Indians timidly approached them in a canoe, and then retired and fet up a dance on the shore, as a token of friendly greeting. Armed with crayon and drawing-paper, Champlain was defpatched to feek from the natives fome important geographical information. Difpenfing knives and bifcuit as a friendly invitation, the favages gathered about him, affured by their gifts, when he proceeded to impart to them their first lesson in topographical drawing. He pictured to them the bay on the north fide of Cape Anne, which he had just traversed, and fignifying to them that he defired to know the course of the shore on the fouth, they immediately gave him an example of their apt scholarship by drawing with the same crayon an accurate outline of Maffachufetts Bay, and finished up Champlain's own sketch by introducing the Merrimac River, which, not having been feen, owing to the prefence of Plum Island, which stretches like a curtain before its mouth, he had omitted to portray. The intelligent natives volunteered a bit of history. By placing fix pebbles at equal distances, they intimated that Maffachufetts Bay was occupied by fix tribes,

tribes, and governed by as many chiefs.45 He learned from them, likewise, that the inhabitants of this region subsisted by agriculture, as did those at the mouth of the Saco, and

that they were very numerous.

Leaving Cape Anne on Saturday, the 16th of July, De Monts entered Maffachufetts Bay, failed into Bofton harbor, and anchored on the western side of Noddle's Island, now better known as East Boston. In passing into the bay, they observed large patches of cleared land, and many fields of waving corn both upon the iflands and the mainland. The water and the iflands, the open fields and lofty forest-trees, prefented fine contrasts, and rendered the scenery attractive and beautiful. Here for the first time Champlain observed the log canoe. It was a clumfy though ferviceable boat in still waters, nevertheless unstable and dangerous in unskilful hands. They faw, iffuing into the bay, a large river, coming from the west, which they named River du Guast, in honor of Pierre du Guaft, Sieur de Monts, the patentee of La Cadie, and the patron and director of this expedition. This was Charles River, feen, evidently just at its confluence with the Mystic.46

On Sunday, the 17th of July, 1605, they left Boston harbor, threading their way among the islands, passing leifurely

along

46 Vide Vol. II. note 159. Mushau-

<sup>45</sup> Daniel Gookin, who wrote in 1674, womuk, which we have converted into Shawmut, means, "where there is going-by-boat." The French, if they heard the name and learned its meaning, could hardly have failed to fee the appropriateness of it as applied by the aborigines to Boston harbor. - Vide Trumball in Connecticut Historical Society's Collections, Vol. II. p. 5.

fpeaks of the following fubdivisions among the Massachusetts Indians: "Their chief sachem held dominion over many other petty governours; as those of Weechagaskas, Neponsitt, Punkapaog, Nonantam, Nashaway, and some of the Nipmuck people." - Vide Gookin's His. Col.

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Historical & I. p. 5.

along the fouth shore, rounding Point Allerton on the peninfula of Nantasket, gliding along near Cohasset and Scituate, and finally cast anchor at Brant Point, upon the southern borders of Marshfield. When they left the harbor of Boston, the islands and mainland were swarming with the native pop-The Indians were, naturally enough, intenfely interested in this visit of the little French barque. It may have been the first that had ever made its appearance in the bay. Its fize was many times greater than any water-craft of their own. Spreading its white wings and gliding filently away without oarfmen, it filled them with furprise and admi-The whole population was aftir. The cornfields and fishing stations were deserted. Every canoe was manned, and a flotilla of their tiny craft came to attend, honor, and fpeed the parting guefts, experiencing, doubtlefs, a fenfe of relief that they were going, and filled with a painful curiofity to know the meaning of this mysterious visit.

Having passed the night at Brant Point, they had not advanced more than two leagues along a fandy shore dotted with wigwams and gardens, when they were forced to enter a fmall harbor, to await a more favoring wind. The Indians flocked about them, greeted them with cordiality, and invited them to enter the little river which flows into the harbor, but this they were unable to do, as the tide was low and the depth infufficient. Champlain's attention was attracted by feveral canoes in the bay, which had just completed their morning's work in fishing for cod. The fish were taken with a primitive hook and line, apparently in a manner not very different from that of the prefent day. The line was made of a filament of bark stripped from the

trunk

trunk of a tree; the hook was of wood, having a sharp bone, forming a barb, lashed to it with a cord of a grassy fibre, a kind of wild hemp, growing fpontaneously in that region. Champlain landed, diftributed trinkets among the natives, examined and sketched an outline of the place, which identifies it as Plymouth harbor, which Captain John Smith vifited in 1614, and where the May Flower, still fix years later, landed the first permanent colony planted upon

New England foil.

After a day at Plymouth, the little barque weighed anchor, fwept down Cape Cod Bay, approaching near to the reefs of Billingfgate, describing a complete semicircle, and finally, with fome difficulty, doubled the cape, whose white fands they had feen in the diftance glittering in the funlight, and which they appropriately named Cap Blanc. This cape, however, had been vifited three years before by Bartholomew Gosnold, and named Cape Cod, which appellation it has retained to the prefent time. Paffing down on the outfide of the cape fome diftance, they came to anchor, fent explorers on shore, who, ascending one of the lofty fandbanks 47 which may still be feen there filently resisting the winds and the waves, discovered, further to the fouth, what is now known as Nauset harbor, entirely surrounded by Indian cabins. The next day, the 20th of July, 1605, they effected

47 It was probably on this very bluff, addressed their congratulations by tele-

from which was feen Nauset harbor on graph to the citizens of France, at Breft, the 19th of July, 1605, that, after the on the communication between the two lapse of two hundred and seventy-four countries, that day completed, through years, on the 17th of November, 1879, fubmarine wires, under the auspices of the citizens of the United States, with the "Compagnie Française du Téléthe flags of America, France, and Eng- graphe de Paris à New York." land gracefully waving over their heads,

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an entrance without much difficulty. The bay was spacious, being nine or ten miles in circumference. Along the borders, there were, here and there, cultivated patches, interfperfed with dwellings of the natives. The wigwam was cone-shaped, heavily thatched with reeds, having an orifice at the apex for the emission of smoke. In the fields were growing Indian corn, Brazilian beans, pumpkins, radifhes, and tobacco; and in the woods were oak and hickory and red cedar. During their stay in the harbor they encountered an eafterly florm, which continued four days, fo raw and chilling that they were glad to hug their winter cloaks about them on the 22d of July. The natives were friendly and cordial, and entered freely into conversation with Champlain; but, as the language of each party was not underflood by the other, the information he obtained from them was mostly by figns, and confequently too general to be hiftorically interesting or important.

The first and only act of hostility by the natives which De Monts and his party had thus far experienced in their explorations on the entire coast occurred in this harbor. Several of the men had gone ashore to obtain fresh water. Some of the Indians conceived an uncontrollable desire to capture the copper vessels which they saw in their hands. While one of the men was stooping to dip water from a spring, one of the savages darted upon him and snatched the coveted vessel from his hand. An encounter followed, and, amid showers of arrows and blows, the poor sailor was brutally murdered. The victorious Indian, sleet as the reindeer, escaped with his companions, bearing his prize with him into the depths of the forest. The natives on the shore,

who

who had hitherto fhown the greatest friendlines, soon came to De Monts, and by signs disowned any participation in the act, and assured him that the guilty parties belonged far in the interior. Whether this was the truth or a piece of adroit diplomacy, it was nevertheless accepted by De Monts, since punishment could only be administered at the risk of causing the innocent to suffer instead of the guilty.

The young failor whose earthly career was thus suddenly terminated, whose name even has not come down to us, was doubtless the first European, if we except Thorvald, the Northman, whose mortal remains slumber in the soil of

Maffachufetts.

As this voyage of discovery had been planned and provisioned for only fix weeks, and more than five had already elapsed, on the 25th of July DeMonts and his party left Nausett harbor, to join the colony still lingering at St. Croix. In passing the bar, they came near being wrecked, and consequently gave to the harbor the significant appellation of *Port de Mallebarre*, a name which has not been lost, but nevertheless, like the shifting sands of that region, has floated away from its original moorings, and now adheres to the sandy cape of Monomoy.

On their return voyage, they made a brief stop at Saco, and likewise at the mouth of the Kennebec. At the latter point they had an interview with the sachem, Anassou, who informed them that a ship had been there, and that the men on board her had seized, under color of friendship, and killed five savages belonging to that river. From the description given by Anassou, Champlain was convinced that the ship was English, and subsequent events render it quite certain

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that it was the "Archangel," fitted out by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel of Wardour, and commanded by Captain George Weymouth. The defign of the expedition was to fix upon an eligible fite for a colonial plantation, and, in purfuance of this purpofe, Weymouth anchored off Monhegan on the 28th of May, 1605, new flyle, and, after spending a month in explorations of the region contiguous, left for England on the 26th of June.48 He had feized and carried away five of the natives, having concealed them in the hold of his ship, and Anassou, under the circumstances, naturally fupposed they had been killed. The statement of the fachem, that the natives captured belonged to the river where Champlain then was, namely, the Kennebec, goes far to prove that Weymouth's explorations were in the Kennebec, or at least in the network of waters then comprehended under that appellation, and not in the Penobscot or in any other river farther east, as some historical writers have supposed.

It would appear that while the French were carefully furveying the coasts of New England, in order to fix upon an eligible site for a permanent colonial settlement, the English were likewise upon the ground, engaged in a similar investigation for the same purpose. From this period onward, for more than a century and a half, there was a perpetual conflict and struggle for territorial possession on the northern coast of America, between these two great nations, sometimes active and violent, and at others subsiding into a semi-flumber, but never ceasing until every acre of soil belonging

48 Vide Vol. II. p. 91, note 176.

to the French had been transferred to the English by a solemn international compact.

On this exploration, Champlain noticed along the coast from Kennebec to Cape Cod, and described several objects in natural history unknown in Europe, fuch as the horse-foot crab,49 the black skimmer, and the wild turkey, the latter two of which have long fince ceased to visit this region.

## CHAPTER IV.

ARRIVAL OF SUPPLIES AND REMOVAL TO PORT ROYAL. - DE MONTS RE-TURNS TO FRANCE. — SEARCH FOR MINES. — WINTER. — SCURVY. — LATE ARRIVAL OF SUPPLIES AND EXPLORATIONS ON THE COAST OF MASSA-CHUSETTS. - GLOCESTER HARBOR, STAY AT CHATHAM AND ATTACK OF THE SAVAGES. - WOOD'S HOLL. - RETURN TO ANNAPOLIS BASIN.



N the 8th of August, the exploring party reached St. Croix. During their absence, Pont Gravé had arrived from France with additional men and provisions for the colony. As no fatisfactory fite had been found by De Monts in his

recent tour along the coast, it was determined to remove the colony temporarily to Port Royal, fituated within the bay now known as Annapolis Bafin. The buildings at St. Croix, with

phemus. Champlain gives the Indian for at least a thousand miles along name, figuenoc. Hariot faw, while at the Atlantic coast, from the Kennebec, Roanoke Island, in 1585, and described in Maine, to Roanoke Island, in North the same crustacean under the name of Carolina. Vide Hariot's Briefe and feekanauk. The Indian word is obviously the same, the differing French of Virginia, Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 334- and English orthography representing See also Vol. II. of this work, notes 171, the same sound. It thus appears that 172, 173, for some account of the black this shell-fish was at that time known skimmer and the wild turkey.

49 The Horsefoot-crab, Limulus poly- by the aborigines under the same name

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with the exception of the store-house, were taken down and transported to the bay. Champlain and Pont Gravé were sent forward to select a place for the settlement, which was fixed on the north side of the basin, directly opposite to Goat Island, near or upon the present site of Lower Granville. The situation was protected from the piercing and dreaded winds of the northwest by a losty range of hills, so while it was elevated and commanded a charming view of the placid bay in front. The dwellings which they erected were arranged in the form of a quadrangle with an open court in the centre, as at St. Croix, while gardens and pleasure-grounds were laid out by Champlain in the immediate vicinity.

When the work of the new fettlement was well advanced, De Monts, having appointed Pont Gravé as his lieutenant, departed for France, where he hoped to obtain additional privileges from the government in his enterprise of planting a colony in the New World. Champlain preferred to remain, with the purpose of executing more fully his office as geographer to the king, by making discoveries on the Atlantic coast still further to the south.

From the beginning, the patentee had cherifhed the defire of difcovering valuable mines fomewhere on his domains, whose wealth, as well as that of the fur-trade, might defray some part of the heavy expenses involved in his colonial enterprise. While several investigations for this purpose had proved abortive, it was hoped that greater success would be attained by searches along the upper part of the Bay of Fundy. Before the approach of winter, therefore, Champlain

<sup>50</sup> On Lescarbot's map of 1609, this elevation is denominated Mont de la Roque. Vide also Vol. II. note 180.

plain and the miner, Mafter Jaques, a Sclavonian, made a tour to St. John, where they obtained the fervices of the Indian chief, Secondon, to accompany them and point out the place where copper ore had been discovered at the Bay of Mines. The fearch, thorough as was practicable under the circumstances, was, in the main, unfuccessful; the few specimens

which they found were meagre and infignificant.

The winter at Port Royal was by no means fo fevere as the preceding one at St. Croix. The Indians brought in wild game from the forests. The colony had no want of fuel and pure water. But experience, bitter as it had been, did not yield to them the fruit of practical wifdom. They referred their fufferings to the climate, but took too little pains to protect themselves against its rugged power. Their dwellings, haftily thrown together, were cold and damp, arifing from the green, unfeafoned wood of which they were doubtless in part constructed, and from the standing rainwater with which their foundations were at all times inundated, which was neither diverted by embankments nor drawn away by drainage. The dreaded mal de la terre, or fcurvy, as might have been anticipated, made its appearance in the early part of the feafon, caufing the death of twelve out of the forty-five comprising their whole number, while others were proftrated by this painful, repulfive, and depreffing disease.

The purpose of making further discoveries on the southern coast, warmly cherished by Champlain, and entering sully into the plans of De Monts, had not been forgotten. Three times during the early part of the summer they had equipped their barque, made up their party, and left Port Royal for

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this undertaking, and as many times had been driven back by the violence of the winds and the waves.

In the mean time, the supplies which had been promifed and expected from France had not arrived. This naturally gave to Pont Gravé, the lieutenant, great anxiety, as without them it was clearly inexpedient to venture upon another winter in the wilds of La Cadie. It had been stipulated by De Monts, the patentee, that if fuccors did not arrive before the middle of July, Pont Gravé should make arrangements for the return of the colony by the fishing vessels to be found at the Grand Banks. Accordingly, on the 17th of that month, Pont Gravé fet fail with the little colony in two barques, and proceeded towards Cape Breton, to feek a paffage home. But De Monts had not been remiss in his duty. He had, after many difficulties and delays, despatched a vessel of a hundred and fifty tons, called the "Jonas," with fifty men and ample provisions for the approaching winter. While Pont Gravé with his two barques and his retreating colony had run into Yarmouth Bay for repairs, the "Jonas" paffed him unobserved, and anchored in the basin before the deferted fettlement of Port Royal. An advice-boat had, however, been wifely defpatched by the "Jonas" to reconnoitre the inlets along the shore, which fortunately intercepted the departing colony near Cape Sable, and, elated with fresh news from home, they joyfully returned to the quarters they had fo recently abandoned.

In addition to a confiderable number of artifans and laborers for the colony, the "Jonas" had brought out Sieur De Poutrincourt, to remain as lieutenant of La Cadie, and likewife Marc Lescarbot, a young attorney of Paris, who had

already

already made fome scholarly attainments, and who subsequently diftinguished himself as an author, especially by the

publication of a history of New France.

De Poutrincourt immediately addressed himself to putting all things in order at Port Royal, where it was obviously expedient for the colony to remain, at least for the winter, As foon as the "Jonas" had been unladen, Pont Gravé and most of those who had shared his recent hardships, departed in her for the shores of France. When the tenements had been cleanfed, refitted, and refurnished, and their provisions had been fafely stored, De Poutrincourt, by way of experiment, to test the character of the climate and the capability of the foil, despatched a squad of gardeners and farmers five miles up the river, to the grounds now occupied by the village of Annapolis,5x where the foil was open, clear of forest trees, and eafy of cultivation. They planted a great variety of feeds, wheat, rye, hemp, flax, and of garden esculents, which grew with extraordinary luxuriance, but, as the feafon was too late for any of them to ripen, the experiment failed either as a test of the soil or the climate.

On a former visit in 1604, De Poutrincourt had conceived a great admiration for Annapolis basin, its protected situation, its fine scenery, and its rich soil. He had a strong desire to bring his family there and make it his permanent abode. With this defign, he had requested and received from De Monts a perfonal grant of this region, which had also been confirmed to him 52 by Henry IV. But De Monts wished to

52 "Doncques l'an 1607, tous les

51 Lescarbot locates Poutrincourt's François estans reuenus (ainfi qu'a Henry le Grand la donnation à luy

fort on the same spot which he called esté dict) le Sieur de Potrincourt pre-Mariefort, the fite of the prefent village fenta à feu d'immortelle memorie

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plant his La Cadian colony in a milder and more genial climate. He had therefore enjoined upon De Poutrincourt, as his lieutenant, on leaving France, to continue the explorations for the felection of a fite still farther to the fouth. Accordingly, on the 5th of September, 1606, De Poutrincourt left Annapolis Basin, which the French called Port Royal, in a barque of eighteen tons, to sulfil this injunction.

It was Champlain's opinion that they ought to fail directly for Naufet harbor, on Cape Cod, and commence their explorations where their fearch had terminated the preceding year, and thus advance into a new region, which had not already been furveyed. But other counfels prevailed, and a large part of the time which could be fpared for this inveftigation was exhaufted before they reached the harbor of Nauset. They made a brief visit to the island of St. Croix, in which De Monts had wintered in 1604-5, touched also at Saco, where the Indians had already completed their harvest, and the grapes at Bacchus Island were ripe and luscious. Thence failing directly to Cape Anne, where, finding no fafe roadstead, they passed round to Gloucester harbor, which they found spacious, well protected, with good depth of water, and which, for its great excellence and attractive fcenery, they named Beauport, or the beautiful harbor. Here they remained feveral days. It was a native fettlement, comprifing two hundred favages, who were cultivators of the foil, which was prolific in corn, beans, melons, pumpkins, tobacco, and grapes. The harbor was environed with fine forest trees, as hickory, oak, ash, cypress, and sassafras. Within

faicte par le fieur de Monts, requerant humblement Sa Majesté de la ratifier. Le Roy eut pour agreable la 25. Vide Vol. II. of this work, p. 37. the town there were feveral patches of cultivated land, which the Indians were gradually augmenting by felling the trees, burning the wood, and after a few years, aided by the natural process of decay, eradicating the stumps. The French were kindly received and entertained with generous hospitality. Grapes just gathered from the vines, and squashes of several varieties, the trailing bean still well known in New England, and the Jerusalem artichoke crisp from the unexhausted soil, were presented as offerings of welcome to their guests. While these gifts were doubtless tokens of a genuine friendliness so far as the savages were capable of that virtue, the lurking spirit of deceit and treachery which had been inherited and softered by their habits and mode of life, could not be restrained.

The French barque was lying at anchor a short distance northeast of Ten Pound Island. Its boat was undergoing repairs on a peninfula near by, now known as Rocky Neck, and the failors were washing their linen just at the point where the peninfula is united to the mainland. While Champlain was walking on this caufeway, he observed about fifty favages, completely armed, cautiously screening themselves behind a clump of bushes on the edge of Smith's Cove. As foon as they were aware that they were feen, they came forth, concealing their weapons as much as possible, and began to dance in token of a friendly greeting. But when they difcovered De Poutrincourt in the wood near by, who had approached unobserved, with eight armed musketeers to disperse them in case of an attack, they immediately took to flight, and, scattering in all directions, made no further hoftile demonstrations.53 This ferio-comic incident did not interfere

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> This scene is well represented on Champlain's map of *Beauport* or Gloucester Harbor. *Vide* Vol. II. p. 114.

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terfere with the interchange of friendly offices between the two parties, and when the voyagers were about to leave, the favages urged them with great earnestness to remain longer, affuring them that two thousand of their friends would pay them a visit the very next day. This invitation was, however, not heeded. In Champlain's opinion it was a ruse contrived only to furnish a fresh opportunity to attack and overpower them.

On the 30th of September, they left the harbor of Gloucefter, and, during the following night, failing in a foutherly direction, passing Brant Point, they found themselves in the lower part of Cape Cod Bay. When the fun rose, a low, fandy shore stretched before them. Sending their boat forward to a place where the shore seemed more elevated, they found deeper water and a harbor, into which they entered in five or fix fathoms. They were welcomed by three Indian canoes. They found oysters in such quantities in this bay, and of fuch excellent quality, that they named it Le Port aux Huistres,54 or Oyster Harbor. After a few hours, they weighed anchor, and directing their course north, a quarter northeast, with a favoring wind, soon doubled Cape Cod. The next day, the 2d of October, they arrived off Nauset. De Poutrincourt, Champlain, and others entered the harbor in a fmall boat, where they were greeted by a hundred and fifty favages with finging and dancing, according to their usual custom. After a brief visit, they returned to the barque and continued their course along the sandy shore. When near the heel of the cape, off Chatham, they found themselves imperilled among breakers and fand-banks, fo dangerous as to

<sup>54</sup> Le Port aux Huistres, Barnstable Harbor. Vide Vol. II. Note 208.

to render it inexpedient to attempt to land, even with a small boat. The favages were observing them from the shore, and foon manned a canoe, and came to them with finging and demonstrations of joy. From them, they learned that lower down a harbor would be found, where their barque might ride in fafety. Proceeding, therefore, in the fame direction, after many difficulties, they fucceeded in rounding the peninfula of Monomoy, and finally, in the gray of the evening, cast anchor in the offing near Chatham, now known as Old Stage Harbor. The next day they entered, paffing between Harding's Beach Point and Morris Island, in two fathoms of water, and anchored in Stage Harbor. This harbor is about a mile long and half a mile wide, and at its western extremity is connected by tide-water with Oyster Pond, and with Mill Cove on the east by Mitchell's River. Mooring their barque between these two arms of the harbor, towards the westerly end, the explorers remained there about three weeks. It was the centre of an Indian fettlement, containing five or fix hundred perfons. Although it was now well into October, the natives of both fexes were entirely naked, with the exception of a flight band about the loins. They fubfifted upon fish and the products of the foil. Indian corn was their staple. It was secured in the autumn in bags made of braided grass, and buried in the fand-banks, and withdrawn as it was needed during the winter. The favages were of fine figure and of olive complexion. They adorned themfelves with an embroidery skilfully interwoven with feathers and beads, and dreffed their hair in a variety of braids, like those at Saco. Their dwellings were conical in shape, covered with thatch of rushes and corn-husks, and surrounded

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The flay at Chatham was necessarily prolonged in baking bread to ferve the remainder of the voyage, and in repairing their barque, whose rudder had been badly shattered in the rough paffage round the cape. For these purposes, a bakery and a forge were fet up on shore, and a tent pitched for the convenience and protection of the workmen. While thefe works were in progrefs, De Poutrincourt, Champlain, and others made frequent excursions into the interior, always with a guard of armed men, fometimes making a circuit of twelve or fifteen miles. The explorers were fascinated with all they faw. The aroma of the autumnal forest and the balmy air of October stimulated their senses. The nut-trees were loaded with ripe fruit, and the rich clufters of grapes were hanging temptingly upon the vines. Wild game was plentiful and delicious. The fish of the bay were sweet, delicate, and of many varieties. Nature, unaided by art, had thus fupplied fo many human wants that Champlain gravely put upon record his opinion that this would be a most excellent place in which to lay the foundations of a commonwealth, if the harbor were deeper and better protected at its mouth.

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The flay at Chatham was necessarily prolonged in baking bread to ferve the remainder of the voyage, and in repairing their barque, whose rudder had been badly shattered in the rough paffage round the cape. For these purposes, a bakery and a forge were fet up on shore, and a tent pitched for the convenience and protection of the workmen. While thefe works were in progrefs, De Poutrincourt, Champlain, and others made frequent excursions into the interior, always with a guard of armed men, fometimes making a circuit of twelve or fifteen miles. The explorers were fascinated with all they faw. The aroma of the autumnal forest and the balmy air of October stimulated their senses. The nut-trees were loaded with ripe fruit, and the rich clusters of grapes were hanging temptingly upon the vines. Wild game was plentiful and delicious. The fifh of the bay were sweet, delicate, and of many varieties. Nature, unaided by art, had thus fupplied fo many human wants that Champlain gravely put upon record his opinion that this would be a most excellent place in which to lay the foundations of a commonwealth, if the harbor were deeper and better protected at its mouth.

After the voyagers had been in Chatham eight or nine days,

days, the Indians, tempted by the implements which they faw about the forge and bakery, conceived the idea of taking forcible poffession of them, in order to appropriate them to their own use. As a preparation for this, and particularly to put themselves in a favorable condition in case of an attack or reprifal, they were feen removing their women, children, and effects into the forests, and even taking down their cabins. De Poutrincourt, observing this, gave orders to the workmen to pass their nights no longer on shore, but to go on board the barque to affure their perfonal fafety. This command, however, was not obeyed. The next morning, at break of day, four hundred favages, creeping foftly over a hill in the rear, furrounded the tent, and poured fuch a volley of arrows upon the defenceless workmen that escape was impossible. Three of them were killed upon the spot; a fourth was mortally and a fifth badly wounded. The alarm was given by the fentinel on the barque. De Poutrincourt, Champlain, and the rest, aroused from their slumbers, rushed half-clad into the ship's boat, and hastened to the rescue. As foon as they touched the shore, the favages, fleet as the greyhound, escaped to the wood. Pursuit, under the circumstances, was not to be made; and, if it had been, would have ended in their utter destruction. Freed from immediate danger, they collected the dead and gave them Christian burial near the foot of a cross, which had been erected the day before. While the fervice of prayer and fong was offered, the favages in the diftance mocked them with derifive attitudes and hideous howls. Three hours after the French had retired to their barque, the miscreants returned, tore down the crofs, difinterred the dead, and carried off the garments

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garments in which they had been laid to reft. They were immediately driven off by the French, the crofs was reftored to its place, and the dead reinterred.

Before leaving Chatham, fome anxiety was felt in regard to their fafety in leaving the harbor, as the little barque had fcarcely been able to weather the rough feas of Monomoy on their inward voyage. A boat had been fent out in fearch of a fafer and a better roadway, which, creeping along by the fhore fixteen or eighteen miles, returned, announcing three fathoms of water, and neither bars nor reefs. On the 16th of October they gave their canvas to the breeze, and failed out of Stage Harbor, which they had named Port Fortune,55 an appellation probably fuggefted by their narrow escape in entering and by the bloody tragedy to which we have just referred. Having gone eighteen or twenty miles, they fighted the ifland of Martha's Vineyard lying low in the diftance before them, which they called La Soupçonneuse, the suspicious one, as they had feveral times been in doubt whether it were not a part of the mainland. A contrary wind forced them to return to their anchorage in Stage Harbor. On the 20th they fet out again, and continued their course in a fouthwesterly direction until they reached the entrance of Vineyard Sound. The rapid current of tide water flowing from Buzzard's Bay into the found through the rocky chan-

55 Port Fortuné. In giving this name in peril and fear, but nevertheless in there was doubtless an allusion to the fafety. They had suffered by the atgoddess Fortuna of the ancients, tack of the savages, but fortunately had whose office it was to dispense riches escaped utter annihilation, which they and poverty, pleasures and pains, bless- might well have feared. It had been to ings and calamities. They had exthem eminently the port of hazard or perienced good and evil at her fickle chance. Vide Vol. II. Note 231. La hand. They had entered the harbor Soupçonneuse. Vide Vol. II, Note 227.

nel between Nonamesset and Wood's Holl, they took to be a river coming from the mainland, and named it Rivière de Champlain.

This point, in front of Wood's Holl, is the fouthern limit of the French explorations on the coast of New England,

reached by them on the 20th of October, 1606.

Encountering a ftrong wind, approaching a gale, they were again forced to return to Stage Harbor, where they lingered two or three days, awaiting favoring winds for their

return to the colony at the bay of Annapolis.

We regret to add that, while they were thus detained, under the very shadow of the cross they had recently erected, the emblem of a faith that teaches love and forgiveness, they decoyed, under the guise of friendship, several of the poor savages into their power, and inhumanly butchered them in cold blood. This deed was perpetrated on the base principle of *lex talionis*, and yet they did not know, much less were they able to prove, that their victims were guilty or took any part in the late affray. No form of trial was observed, no witnesses testified, and no judge adjudicated. It was a simple murder, for which we are sure any Christian's cheek would mantle with shame who should offer for it any defence or apology.

When this piece of barbarity had been completed, the little French barque made its final exit from Stage Harbor, paffed fuccefsfully round the shoals of Monomoy, and anchored near Nauset, where they remained a day or two, leaving on the 28th of October, and failing directly to Isle Haute in Penobscot Bay. They made brief stops at some of the islands at the mouth of the St. Croix, and at the

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Grand Manan, and arrived at Annapolis Basin on the 14th of November, after an exceedingly rough passage and many hair-breadth escapes.

## CHAPTER V.

RECEPTION OF THE EXPLORERS AT ANNAPOLIS BASIN. - A DREARY WIN-TER RELIEVED BY THE ORDER OF BON TEMPS. - NEWS FROM FRANCE. - BIRTH OF A PRINCE. - RUIN OF DE MONTS'S COMPANY. - TWO EX-CURSIONS AND DEPARTURE FOR FRANCE. - CHAMPLAIN'S EXPLORATIONS COMPARED. - DE MONTS'S NEW CHARTER FOR ONE YEAR AND CHAM-PLAIN'S RETURN IN 1608 TO NEW FRANCE AND THE FOUNDING OF QUE-BEC. - CONSPIRACY OF DU VAL AND HIS EXECUTION.



ITH the voyage which we have described in the last chapter, Champlain terminated his explorations on the coast of New England. He never afterward stepped upon her foil. But he has left us, nevertheless, an invaluable record of the char-

acter, manners, and customs of the aborigines as he saw them all along from the eastern borders of Maine to the Vineyard Sound, and carefully studied them during the period of three confecutive years. Of the value of these explorations we need not here speak at length. We shall refer to them again in the fequel.

The return of the explorers was hailed with joy by the colonists at Annapolis Basin. To give éclat to the occasion, Lescarbot composed a poem in French, which he recited at the head of a proceffion which marched with gay reprefentations to the water's edge, to receive their returning friends. Over the gateway of the quadrangle formed by their dwell-

ings,

ings, dignified by them as their fort, were the arms of France, wreathed in laurel, together with the motto of the king:—

DVO PROTEGIT VNVS.

Under this, the arms of De Monts were displayed, overlaid with evergreen, and bearing the following inscription:—

DABIT DEVS HIS QUOQUE FINEM.

Then came the arms of Poutrincourt, crowned also with garlands, and inscribed:—

IN VIA VIRTVTI NVLLA EST VIA.

When the excitement of the return had paffed, the little fettlement fubfided into its usual routine. The leisure of the winter was devoted to various objects bearing upon the future prosperity of the colony. Among others, a corn mill was erected at a fall on Allen River, four or five miles from the fettlement, a little east of the present site of Annapolis. A road was commenced through the forest leading from Lower Granville towards the mouth of the bay. Two small barques were built, to be in readiness in anticipation of a failure to receive succors the next summer, and new buildings were erected for the accommodation of a larger number of colonists. Still, there was much unoccupied time, and, shut out as they were from the usual associations of civilized life, it was hardly possible that the winter should not seem long and dreary, especially to the gentlemen.

To break up the monotony and add variety to the dull routine of their life, Champlain contrived what he called L'Ordre de Bon Temps, or The Rule of Mirth, which was introduced and carried out with spirit and success. The fifteen gentlemen who sat at the table of De Poutrincourt, the gov-

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ernor, comprising the whole number of the order, took turns in performing the duties of fleward and caterer, each holding the office for a fingle day. With a laudable ambition, the Grand Master for the time being laid the forest and the sea under contribution, and the table was conftantly furnished with the most delicate and well feasoned game, and the sweetest as well as the choicest varieties of fish. The frequent change of office and the ingenuity displayed, offered at every repast, either in the viands or mode of cooking, fomething new and tempting to the appetite. At each meal, a ceremony becoming the dignity of the order was ftrictly observed. At a given fignal, the whole company marched into the dininghall, the Grand Master at the head, with his napkin over his shoulder, his staff of office in his hand, and the glittering collar of the order about his neck, while the other members bore each in his hand a dish loaded and smoking with some part of the delicious repast. A ceremony of a somewhat fimilar character was observed at the bringing in of the fruit. At the close of the day, when the last meal had been ferved, and grace had been faid, the mafter formally completed his official duty by placing the collar of the order upon the neck of his fucceffor, at the fame time prefenting to him a cup of wine, in which the two drank to each other's health and happiness. These ceremonies were generally witneffed by thirty or forty favages, men, women, boys, and girls, who gazed in respectful admiration, not to say awe, upon this exhibition of European civilization. When Membertou,56 the venerable chief of the tribe, or other fagamores were

<sup>56</sup> Membertou. See Pierre Biard's account of his death in 1611. Relations des Jéjuites. Quebec ed., Vol. I. p. 32.

were prefent, they were invited to a feat at the table, while bread was gratuitously distributed to the rest.

When the winter had paffed, which proved to be an exceedingly mild one, all was aftir in the little colony. The preparation of the foil, both in the gardens and in the larger fields, for the fpring fowing, created an agreeable excitement

and healthy activity.

On the 24th May, in the midft of these agricultural enterprises, a boat arrived in the bay, in charge of a young man from St. Malo, named Chevalier, who had come out in command of the "Jonas," which he had left at Canseau engaged in fishing for the purpose of making up a return cargo of that commodity. Chevalier brought two items of intelligence of great interest to the colonists, but differing widely in their character. The one was the birth of a French prince, the Duke of Orleans; the other, that the company of De Monts had been broken up, his monopoly of the fur-trade withdrawn, and his colony ordered to return to France. The birth of a prince demanded expressions of joy, and the event was loyally celebrated by bonsires and a Te Deum. It was, however, giving a song when they would gladly have hung their harps upon the willows.

While the scheme of De Monts's colonial enterprise was defective, containing in itself a principle which must sooner or later work its ruin, the disappointment occasioned by its sudden termination was none the less painful and humiliating. The monopoly on which it was based could only be maintained by a degree of severity and apparent injustice, which always creates enemies and engenders strife. The seizure and confiscation of several ships with their valuable cargoes

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on the shores of Nova Scotia, had awakened a personal hostility in influential circles in France, and the sufferers were able, in turn, to strike back a damaging blow upon the author of their losses. They easily and perhaps justly represented that the monopoly of the sur-trade secured to De Monts was sapping the national commerce and diverting to personal emolument revenues that properly belonged to the state. To an impoverished sovereign with an empty treasury this appeal was irresistible. The sacredness of the king's commission and the loss to the patentee of the property already embarked in the enterprise had no weight in the royal scales. De Monts's privilege was revoked, with the tantalizing salvo of six thousand livres in remuneration, to be collected at his own expense from unproductive sources.

Under these circumstances, no money for the payment of the workmen or provisions for the coming winter had been sent out, and De Poutrincourt, with great reluctance, proceeded to break up the establishment. The goods and utensils, as well as specimens of the grain which they had raised, were to be carefully packed and sent round to the harbor of Canseau, to be shipped by the "Jonas," together with the whole body of the colonists, as soon as she should have received her cargo of sish.

While these preparations were in progress, two excursions were made; one towards the west, and another northeasterly towards the head of the Bay of Fundy. Lescarbot accompanied the former, passing several days at St. John and the island of St. Croix, which was the westerly limit of his explorations and personal knowledge of the American coast. The other excursion was conducted by De Poutrincourt,

accompanied

accompanied by Champlain, the object of which was to fearch for ores of the precious metals, a species of wealth earnestly coveted and overvalued at the court of France. They failed along the northern shores of Nova Scotia, entered Mines Channel, and anchored off Cape Fendu, now Anglicifed into the uneuphonious name of Cape Split. De Poutrincourt landed on this headland, and afcended a fleep and lofty fummit which is not lefs than four hundred feet in height. Moss several feet in thickness, the growth of centuries, had gathered upon it, and, when he flood upon the pinnacle, it yielded and trembled like gelatine under his feet. He found himself in a critical situation. From this giddy and unftable height he had neither the skill or courage to return. After much anxiety, he was at length refcued by fome of his more nimble failors, who managed to put a hawfer over the fummit, by means of which he fafely descended. They named it Cap de Poutrincourt.

They proceeded as far as the head of the Basin of Mines, but their search for mineral wealth was fruitless, beyond a few meagre specimens of copper. Their labors were chiefly rewarded by the discovery of a moss-covered cross in the last stages of decay, the relic of sishermen, or other Christian mariners, who had, years before, been upon the coast.

The exploring parties having returned to Port Royal, to their fettlement in what is now known as Annapolis Basin, the bulk of the colonists departed in three barques for Canfeau, on the 30th of July, while De Poutrincourt and Champlain, with a complement of failors, remained some days longer, that they might take with them specimens of wheat still in the field and not yet entirely ripe.

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On the 11th of August they likewise bade adieu to Port Royal amid the tears of the assembled savages, with whom they had lived in friendship, and who were disappointed and grieved at their departure. In passing round the peninsula of Nova Scotia in their little shallop, it was necessary to keep close in upon the shore, which enabled Champlain, who had not before been upon the coast east of La Hève, to make a careful survey from that point to Canseau, the results of which are fully stated in his notes, and delineated on his map of 1613.

On the 3d of September, the "Jonas," bearing away the little French colony, failed out of the harbor of Canfeau, and, directing its course towards the shores of France, ar-

rived at Saint Malo on the 1st of October, 1607.

Champlain's explorations on what may be strictly called the Atlantic and of North Armsis and the last of North

the Atlantic coast of North America were now completed. He had landed at La Hève in Nova Scotia on the 8th of May, 1604, and had confequently been in the country three years and nearly four months. During this period he had carefully examined the whole shore from Canseau, the eastern limit of Nova Scotia, to the Vineyard Sound on the fouthern boundaries of Maffachufetts. This was the most ample, accurate, and careful furvey of this region which was made during the whole period from the discovery of the continent in 1497 down to the establishment of the English colony at Plymouth in 1620. A numerous train of navigators had passed along the coast of New England: Sebastian Cabot, Estévan Gomez, Jean Alfonse, André Thevet, John Hawkins, Bartholomew Gofnold, Martin Pring, George Weymouth, Henry Hudson, John Smith, and the rest, but the knowledge

knowledge of the coast which we obtain from them is exceedingly meagre and unfatisfactory, especially as compared with that contained in the full, specific, and detailed descriptions, maps, and drawings left us by this diftinguished pioneer in the fludy and illustration of the geography of the New England coaft.57

The

57 Had the diftinguished navigators who early vifited the coasts of North America illustrated their narratives by drawings and maps, it would have added greatly to their value. Capt. John Smith's map, though necessarily indefinite and general, is indispensable to the fatisfactory study of his still more indefinite "Description of New England." It is, perhaps, a fufficient apology for the vagueness of Smith's statements, and therefore it ought to be borne in mind, that his work was originally written, probably, from memory, at least for the most part, while he was a prisoner on board a French man-ofwar in 1615. This may be inferred from the following statement of Smith himself. In speaking of the movement of the French fleet, he fays: "Still we fpent our time about the Iles neere Fyall: where to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I writ this dis-Vide Description of New England by Capt. John Smith, London, 1616.

While the descriptions of our coast left by Champlain are invaluable to the historian and cannot well be overestimated, the process of making these furveys, with his profound love of fuch explorations and adventures, must have given him great personal satisfaction and enjoyment. It would be difficult vellous beauty of shore and sea, of island to find any region of fimilar extent and inlet, of bay and river and harbor, that could offer, on a fummer's excur- furpaffing any other equally extensive

critical eye as this. The following defcription of the Gulf of Maine, which comprehends the major part of the field furveyed by Champlain, that lying between the headlands of Cape Sable and Cape Cod, gives an excellent idea of the infinite variety and the unexpected and marvellous beauties that are ever revealing themselves to the voyager as he passes along our coast: -

"This shoreland is also remarkable, being fo battered and frayed by fea and ftorm, and worn perhaps by arctic currents and glacier beds, that its natural front of fome 250 miles is multiplied to an extent of not less than 2,500 miles of falt-water line; while at an average distance of about three miles from the mainland, stretches a chain of outposts confifting of more than three hundred islands, fragments of the main, striking in their diversity on the west; low, wooded and graffy to the water's edge, and rifing eastward through bolder types to the crowns and cliffs of Mount Defert and Quoddy Head, an advancing feries from beauty to fublimity; and behind all these are deep basins and broad river-mouths, affording convenient and spacious harbors, in many of which the navies of nations might fafely ride at anchor. . . . Especially attractive was the region between the Pifcataqua and Penobfcot, in its marfion, fo much beauty to his eager and portion of the Atlantic coaft, and compared The winter of 1607–8 Champlain passed in France, where he was pleasantly occupied in social recreations which were especially agreeable to him after an absence of more than three years, and in recounting to eager listeners his experiences in the New World. He took an early opportunity to lay before Monsieur de Monts the results of the explorations which he had made in La Cadie since the departure of the latter from Annapolis Basin in the autumn of 1605, illustrating his narrative by maps and drawings which he had prepared of the bays and harbors on the coast of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and New England.

While most men would have been disheartened by the opposition which he encountered, the mind of De Monts was, nevertheless, rekindled by the recitals of Champlain with fresh zeal in the enterprise which he had undertaken. The vision of building up a vast territorial establishment, contemplated by his charter of 1604, with his own personal aggrandizement and that of his family, had undoubtedly vanished. But he clung, nevertheless, with extraordinary tenacity to his original purpose of planting a colony in the New World. This he refolved to do in the face of many obstacles, and notwithstanding the withdrawment of the royal protection and bounty. The generous heart of Henry IV. was by no means infenfible to the merits of his faithful fubject, and, on his folicitation, he granted to him letters-patent for the exclusive right of trade in America, but for the space only of a fingle year. With this fmall boon from the royal hand, De Monts haftened to fit out two veffels for the expedition.

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pared by travellers earlieft and lateft, History, by Joshua L. Chamberlain, with the famed archipelago of the LL.D., President of Bowdoin College, Ægean." Vide Maine, Her Place in Augusta, 1877, pp. 4-5.

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One was to be commanded by Pont Gravé, who was to devote his undivided attention to trade with the Indians for furs and peltry; the other was to convey men and material for a colonial plantation.

Champlain, whose energy, zeal, and prudence had impreffed themselves upon the mind of De Monts, was appointed lieutenant of the expedition, and intrusted with the civil administration, having a sufficient number of men for all needed defence against favage intruders, Basque fisher

men, or interloping fur-traders.

On the 13th of April, 1608, Champlain left the port of Honfleur, and arrived at the harbor of Tadouffac on the 3d of June. Here he found Pont Gravé, who had preceded him by a few days in the voyage, in trouble with a Basque fur-trader. The latter had perfifted in carrying on his traffic, notwithstanding the royal commission to the contrary, and had fucceeded in difabling Pont Gravé, who had but little power of refiftance, killing one of his men, feriously wounding Pont Gravé himfelf, as well as feveral others, and had forcibly taken poffession of his whole armament.

When Champlain had made full inquiries into all the circumstances, he faw clearly that the difficulty must be compromifed; that the exercise of force in overcoming the intruding Basque would effectually break up his plans for the year, and bring utter and final ruin upon his undertaking. He wisely decided to pocket the infult, and let justice slumber for the present. He consequently required the Basque, who began to fee more clearly the illegality of his course, to enter into a written agreement with Pont Gravé that neither should interfere with the other while they remained in the

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country, and that they should leave their differences to be fettled in the courts on their return to France.

Having thus poured oil upon the troubled waters, Champlain proceeded to carry out his plans for the location and eftablishment of his colony. The difficult navigation of the St. Lawrence above Tadoussac was well known to him. The dangers of its numberless rocks, fand-bars, and fluctuating channels had been made familiar to him by the voyage of 1603. He determined, therefore, to leave his veffel in the harbor of Tadoussac, and construct a small barque of twelve or fourteen tons, in which to afcend the river and fix upon a place of fettlement.

While the work was in progrefs, Champlain reconnoitred the neighborhood, collecting much geographical information from the Indians relating to Lake St. John and a traditionary falt fea far to the north, exploring the Saguenay for fome distance, of which he has given us a description so accurate and fo carefully drawn that it needs little revision after the

lapse of two hundred and seventy years.

On the last of June, the barque was completed, and Champlain, with a complement of men and material, took his departure. As he glided along in his little craft, he was exhilarated by the fragrance of the atmosphere, the bright coloring of the foliage, the bold, picturefque scenery that conftantly revealed itself on both fides of the river. The lofty mountains, the expanding valleys, the luxuriant forests, the bold headlands, the enchanting little bays and inlets, and the numerous tributaries burfting into the broad waters of the St. Lawrence, were all carefully examined and noted in his journal. The expedition feemed more like a holiday excursion

excursion than the grave prelude to the founding of a city to be renowned in the history of the continent.

On the fourth day, they approached the fite of the prefent city of Quebec. The expanse of the river had hitherto been from eight to thirteen miles. Here a lofty headland, approaching from the interior, advances upon the river and forces it into a narrow channel of three-fourths of a mile in width. The river St. Charles, a small stream flowing from the northwest, uniting here with the St. Lawrence, forms a basin below the promontory, spreading out two miles in one direction and four in another. The rocky headland, jutting out upon the river, rifes up nearly perpendicularly, and to a height of three hundred and forty-five feet, commanding from its fummit a view of water, forest and mountain of surpaffing grandeur and beauty. A narrow belt of fertile land formed by the crumbling debris of ages, stretches along between the water's edge and the base of the precipice, and was then covered with a luxurious growth of nut-trees. The magnificent basin below, the protecting wall of the headland in the rear, the deep water of the river in front, rendered this fpot peculiarly attractive. Here on this narrow plateau, Champlain refolved to place his fettlement, and forthwith began the work of felling trees, excavating cellars, and constructing houses.

On the 3d day of July, 1608, Champlain laid the foundation of Quebec. The name which he gave to it had been applied to it by the favages long before. It is derived from the Algonquin word quebio, or quebec, fignifying a narrowing, and was descriptive of the form which the river takes at that place, to which we have already referred.

A

A few days after their arrival, an event occurred of exciting interest to Champlain and his little colony. One of their number, Jean du Val, an abandoned wretch, who possessed a large share of that strange magnetic power which some men have over the minds of others, had fo skilfully practifed upon the credulity of his comrades that he had drawn them all into a scheme which, aside from its atrocity, was weak and illcontrived at every point. It was nothing less than a plan to affaffinate Champlain, feize the property belonging to the expedition, and fell it to the Bafque fur-traders at Tadouffac, under the hallucination that they should be enriched by the pillage. They had even entered into a folemn compact, and whoever revealed the fecret was to be vifited by inftant death. Their purpose was to seize Champlain in an unguarded moment and ftrangle him, or to shoot him in the confusion of a false alarm to be raised in the night by themselves. But before the plan was fully ripe for execution, a barque unexpectedly arrived from Tadoussac with an instalment of utenfils and provisions for the colony. One of the men, Antoine Natel, who had entered into the conspiracy with reluctance, and had been restrained from a disclosure by fear, summoned courage to reveal the plot to the pilot of the boat, first fecuring from him the affurance that he should be shielded from the vengeance of his fellow-conspirators. The fecret was forthwith made known to Champlain, who, by a stroke of finesse, placed himself beyond danger before he slept. At his fuggestion, the four leading spirits of the plot were invited by one of the failors to a focial repast on the barque, at which two bottles of wine which he pretended had been given him at Tadoussac were to be uncorked. In the midst

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of the feftivities, the "four worthy heads of the confpiracy," as Champlain fatirically calls them, were fuddenly clapped into irons. It was now late in the evening, but Champlain nevertheless summoned all the rest of the men into his presence, and offered them a full pardon, on condition that they would disclose the whole scheme and the motives which had induced them to engage in it. This they were eager to do, as they now began to comprehend the dangerous compact into which they had entered, and the peril which threatened their own lives. These preliminary investigations rendered it obvious to Champlain that grave consequences must follow, and he

therefore proceeded with great caution.

The next day, he took the depositions of the pardoned men, carefully reducing them to writing. He then departed

men, carefully reducing them to writing. He then departed for Tadoussac, taking the four conspirators with him. On confultation, he decided to leave them there, where they could be more fafely guarded until Pont Gravé and the principal men of the expedition could return with them to Quebec, where he proposed to give them a more public and formal trial. This was accordingly done. The prifoners were duly confronted with the witnesses. They denied nothing, but freely admitted their guilt. With the advice and concurrence of Pont Gravé, the pilot, furgeon, mate, boatswain, and others, Champlain condemned the four confpirators to be hung; three of them, however, to be fent home for a confirmation or revision of their fentence by the authorities in France, while the fentence of Jean Du Val, the arch-plotter of the malicious scheme, was duly executed in their presence, with all the solemn forms and ceremonies usual on such occasions. Agreeably to a custom of that period,

period, the ghaftly head of Du Val was elevated on the highest pinnacle of the fort at Quebec, looking down and uttering its filent warning to the busy colonists below; the grim signal to all beholders, that "the way of the transgressor is hard."

The catastrophe, had not the plot been nipped in the bud, would have been fure to take place. The final purpose of the conspirators might not have been realized; it must have been defeated at a later stage; but the hand of Du Val, prompted by a malignant nature, was nerved to strike a fatal blow, and the life of Champlain would have been facrificed at the opening of the tragic scene.

The punishment of Du Val, in its character and degree, was not only agreeable to the civil policy of the age, but was necessary for the protection of life and the maintenance of order and discipline in the colony. A conspiracy on land, under the present circumstances, was as dangerous as a mutiny at sea; and the calm, careful, and dignified procedure of Champlain in firmly visiting upon the criminal a severe though merited punishment, reveals the wisdom, prudence, and humanity which were prominent elements in his mental and moral constitution.

CHAPTER VI.

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## CHAPTER VI.

ERECTION OF BUILDINGS AT QUEBEC.—THE SCURVY AND THE STARVING SAVAGES.—DISCOVERY OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN, AND THE BATTLE AT TI-CONDEROGA.—CRUELTIES INFLICTED ON PRISONERS OF WAR, AND THE FESTIVAL AFTER VICTORY.—CHAMPLAIN'S RETURN TO FRANCE AND HIS INTERVIEW WITH HENRY IV.—VOYAGE TO NEW FRANCE AND PLANS OF DISCOVERY.—BATTLE WITH THE IROQUOIS NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE RICHELIEU.—REPAIR OF BUILDINGS AT QUEBEC.—NEWS OF THE ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV.—CHAMPLAIN'S RETURN TO FRANCE AND HIS CONTRACT OF MARRIAGE.—VOYAGE TO QUEBEC IN 1611.

N the 18th of September, 1608, Pont Gravé, having obtained his cargo of furs and peltry, failed for France.

The autumn was fully occupied by Champlain and his little band of colonifts in complet-

ing the buildings and in making fuch other provisions as were needed against the rigors of the approaching winter. From the forest trees beams were hewed into shape with the axe, boards and plank were cut from the green wood with the saw, walls were reared from the rough stones gathered at the base of the cliff, and plots of land were cleared near the settlement, where wheat and rye were sown and grape-vines planted, which successfully tested the good qualities of the soil and climate.

Three lodging-houses were erected on the northwest angle formed by the junction of the present streets St. Peter and Sous le Fort, near or on the site of the Church of Notre Dame. Adjoining, was a store-house. The whole was surrounded by a moat sisteen feet wide and six feet deep, thus giving

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At length the funny days of autumn were gone, and the winter, with its fierce winds and its penetrating frosts and deep banks of fnow, was upon them. Little occupation could be furnished for the twenty-eight men that composed the colony. Their idleness foon brought a despondency that hung like a pall upon their spirits. In February, disease made its approach. It had not been expected. Every defence within their knowledge had been provided against it. Their houses were closely fealed and warm; their clothing was abundant; their food nutritious and plenty. But a diet too exclusively of falt meat had, notwithstanding, in the opinion of Champlain, and we may add the want, probably, of exercife and the presence of bad air, induced the mal de la terre or scurvy, and it made fearful havoc with his men. Twenty, five out of each feven of their whole number, had been carried to their graves before the middle of April, and half of the remaining eight had been attacked by the loathfome scourge.

While the mind of Champlain was oppressed by the suffering and death that were at all times present in their abode, his sympathies were still further taxed by the condition of the savages, who gathered in great numbers about the settlement, in the most abject misery and in the last stages of starvation. As Champlain could only surnish them, from his limited stores, temporary and partial relief, it was the more painful to see them slowly dragging their seeble frames about

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> The fituation of Quebec and an may be feen by reference to Vol II. pp. engraved reprefentation of the buildings 175, 183.

in the fnow, gathering up and devouring with avidity difcarded meat in which the process of decomposition was far advanced, and which was already too potent with the stench

of decay to be approached by his men.

Beyond the ravages of disease 59 and the starving Indians, Champlain adds nothing more to complete the gloomy picture of his first winter in Quebec. The gales of wind that fwept round the wall of precipice that protected them in the rear, the drifts of fnow that were piled up in fresh instalments with every from about their dwelling, the biting frost, more piercing and benumbing than they had ever experienced before, the unceasing groans of the fick within, the femi-weekly procession bearing one after another of their diminishing numbers to the grave, the mystery that hung over the difeafe, and the impotency of all remedies, we know were prominent features in the picture. But the imagination feeks in vain for more than a fingle circumstance that could throw upon it a beam of modifying and foftening light, and that was the presence of the brave Champlain, who bore all without a murmur, and, we may be fure, without a throb of unmanly fear or a fenfation of cowardly discontent.

But the winter, as all winters do, at length melted reluctantly away, and the fpring came with its verdure and its new life. The fpirits of the little remnant of a colony began to revive. Eight of the twenty-eight with which the winter began were ftill furviving. Four had escaped attack, and four were rejoicing convalescents.

On the 5th of June, news came that Pont Gravé had arrived from France, and was then at Tadoussac, whither

Champlain

<sup>59</sup> Scurvy, or mal de la terre. — Vide Vol. II. note 105.

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Champlain immediately repaired to confer with him, and particularly to make arrangements at the earliest possible moment for an exploring expedition into the interior, an undertaking which De Monts had enjoined upon him, and which was not only agreeable to his own wishes, but was a kind of enterprise which had been a passion with him from his youth.

In anticipation of a tour of exploration during the approaching fummer, Champlain had already afcertained from the Indians that, lying far to the fouthwest, was an extensive lake, famous among the savages, containing many fair islands, and surrounded by a beautiful and productive country. Having expressed a desire to visit this region, the Indians readily offered to act as guides, provided, nevertheless, that he would aid them in a warlike raid upon their enemies, the Iroquois, the tribe known to us as the Mohawks, whose homes were beyond the lake in question. Champlain without hesitation acceded to the condition exacted, but with little appreciation, as we considently believe, of the bitter consequences that were destined to follow the alliance thus inaugurated; from which, in after years, it was inexpedient, if not impossible, to recede.

Having fitted out a shallop, Champlain left Quebec on his tour of exploration on the 18th of June, 1609, with eleven men, together with a party of Montagnais, a tribe of Indians who, in their hunting and fishing excursions, roamed over an indefinite region on the north side of the St. Lawrence, but whose headquarters were at Tadoussac. After ascending the St. Lawrence about sixty miles, he came upon an encampment of two hundred or three hundred savages,

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Hurons 60 and Algonquins, the former dwelling on the borders of the lake of the fame name, the latter on the upper waters of the Ottawa. They had learned fomething of the French from a fon of one of their chiefs, who had been at Quebec the preceding autumn, and were now on their way to enter into an alliance with the French against the Iroquois. After formal negotiations and a return to Quebec to visit the French settlement and witness the effect of their firearms, of which they had heard and which greatly excited their curiofity, and after the ufual ceremonies of feafting and dancing, the whole party proceeded up the river until they reached the mouth of the Richelieu. Here they remained two days, as guefts of the Indians, feafting upon fish, venison, and water-fowl.

While these festivities were in progress, a disagreement arose among the favages, and the bulk of them, including the women, returned to their homes. Sixty warriors, however, fome from each of the three allied tribes, proceeded up the Richelieu with Champlain. At the Falls of Chambly, finding it impossible for the shallop to pass them, he directed the pilot to return with it to Quebec, leaving only two men from the crew to accompany him on the remainder of the expedition. From this point, Champlain and his two brave companions entrusted themselves to the birch canoe of the favages. For a short distance, the canoes, twenty-four in all,

60 Hurons. "The word Huron comes them Hurons." - Charlevoix's His. New France, Shea's Trans. Vol. II. p. bec ed. Vol. I. 1639, p. 51; also note 321, Vol. II. of this work, for brief

from the French, who feeing these Indians with the hair cut very short, and 71. Vide Relations des Fésuites, Questanding up in a strange fashion, giving bec ed. Vol. I. 1639, p. 51; also note them a fearful air, cried out, the first time they faw them, Quelle hures! notice of the Algonquins and other what boars' heads! and fo got to call tribes.

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were transported by land. The fall and rapids, extending as far as St. John, were at length paffed. They then proceeded up the river, and, entering the lake which now bears the name of Champlain, crept along the western bank, advancing after the first few days only in the night, hiding themselves during the day in the thickets on the shore to avoid the observation of their enemies, whom they were now liable at any moment to meet.

On the evening of the 29th of July, at about ten o'clock, when the allies were gliding noifeleffly along in restrained filence, as they approached the little cape that juts out into the lake at Ticonderoga, near where Fort Carillon was afterwards erected by the French, and where its ruins are still to be feen,61 they discovered a flotilla of heavy canoes, of oaken bark, containing not far from two hundred Iroquois warriors, armed and impatient for conflict. A furor and frenzy as of fo many enraged tigers inftantly feized both parties. Champlain and his allies withdrew a short distance, an arrow's range from the shore, fastening their canoes by poles to keep them together, while the Iroquois hastened to the water's edge, drew up their canoes fide by fide, and began to fell trees and conftruct a barricade, which they were well able to accomplish with marvellous facility and skill. Two boats were fent out to inquire if the Iroquois defired to fight, to which they replied that they wanted nothing fo much, and,

<sup>61</sup> For the identification of the fite of Again it was taken from the English by this battle, fee Vol. II. p. 223, note 348. It is eminently historical ground. Near it Fort Carrillon was erected by the French in 1756. Here Abercrombie was defeated by Montcalm in 1758. Lord Amherst captured the fort in 1759.

the patriot Ethan Allen in 1775. It was evacuated by St. Clair when environed by Burgoyne in 1777, and now for a complete century it has been vifited by the tourist as a ruin memorable for its many historical affociations.

as it was now dark, at funrife the next morning they would give them battle. The whole night was fpent by both parties in loud and tumultuous boafting, berating each other in the roundest terms which their savage vocabulary could furnish, insultingly charging each other with cowardice and weakness, and declaring that they would prove the truth of their affertions to their utter ruin the next morning.

When the fun began to gild the diftant mountain-tops, the combatants were ready for the fray. Champlain and his two companions, each lying low in feparate canoes of the Montagnais, put on, as best they could, the light armor in use at that period, and, taking the fhort hand-gun, or arquebus, went on fhore, concealing themselves as much as possible from the enemy. As foon as all had landed, the two parties hastily approached each other, moving with a firm and determined tread. The allies, who had become fully aware of the deadly character of the hand-gun and were anxious to fee an exhibition of its mysterious power, promptly opened their ranks, and Champlain marched forward in front, until he was within thirty paces of the Iroquois. When they faw him, attracted by his pale face and strange armor, they halted and gazed at him in a calm bewilderment for fome feconds. Three Iroquois chiefs, tall and athletic, ftood in front, and could be eafily diftinguished by the lofty plumes that waved above their heads. They began at once to make ready for a discharge of arrows. At the fame inftant, Champlain, perceiving this movement, levelled his piece, which had been loaded with four balls, and two chiefs fell dead, and another favage was mortally wounded by the fame shot. At this, the allies raifed a shout rivalling thunder in its stunning effect. both

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both fides the whizzing arrows filled the air. The two French arquebusiers, from their ambuscade in the thicket, immediately attacked in flank, pouring a deadly fire upon the enemy's right. The explosion of the firearms, altogether new to the Iroquois, the fatal effects that inftantly followed, their chiefs lying dead at their feet and others fast falling, threw them into a tumultuous panic. They at once abandoned every thing, arms, provisions, boats, and camp, and without any impediment, the naked favages fled through the forest with the fleetness of the terrified deer. Champlain and his allies purfued them a mile and a half, or to the first fall in the little stream that connects Lake Champlain 62 and Lake George.63 The victory was complete. The allies gathered

62 This lake, discovered and explored by Champlain, is ninety miles in length. Through its centre runs the boundary line between the State of New York and that of Vermont. From its difcovery to the present time it has appropriately borne the honored name of Champlain. For its Indian name, Caniaderiguarûnte, see Vol. II. note 349. According to Mr. Shea the Mohawk name of Lake Champlain is Caniatagaronte. - Vide Shea's Charlevoix, Vol. II. p. 18.

Lake Champlain and the Hudson River were both discovered the same year, and were feverally named after the diftinguished navigators by whom they were explored. Champlain completed his explorations at Ticonderoga, on the 30th of July, 1609, and Hudfon reached the highest point made by him on the river, near Albany, on the 22d of September of the same year. — Vide Vol. II. p. 219. Also The Third Voyage of Master Henry Hudson, written by Robert Ivet of Lime-house, Collections of New York His. Society, Vol. I. p. 140.

68 Lake George. The Jefuit Father, Ifaac Jogues, having been fummoned in 1646 to visit the Mohawks, to attend to the formalities of ratifying a treaty of peace which had been concluded with them, paffing by canoe up the Richelieu, through Lake Champlain, and arriving at the end of Lake George on the 29th of May, the eve of Corpus Christi, a festival celebrated by the Roman Church on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, in honor of the Holy Eucharift or the Lord's Supper, named this lake LAC DU SAINT SACREMENT. The following is from the Jefuit Relation of 1646 by Pere Hierosme Lalemant. Ils arriuèrent la veille du S. Sacrement au bout du lac qui est ioint au grand lac de Champlain. Les Iroquois le nomment Andiatarocté, comme qui diroit, là où le lac se ferme. Le Pere le nomma le lac du S. Sacrement. — Relations des Téfuites, Quebec ed. Vol. II. 1646, p.

Two important facts are here made perfectly plain; viz. that the original Indian name of the lake was Andiatarocté,

gathered at the scene of conflict, danced and sang in triumph, collected and appropriated the abandoned armor, feasted on the provisions left by the Iroquois, and, within three hours, with ten or twelve prisoners, were failing down the lake on their homeward voyage.

After they had rowed about eight leagues, according to Champlain's estimate, they encamped for the night. A prevailing characteristic of the favages on the eastern coast, in the early history of America, was the barbarous cruelties which they inflicted upon their prisoners of war.64 They did not depart from their usual custom in the present instance. Having kindled a fire, they felected a victim, and proceeded to excoriate his back with red-hot burning brands,

and to apply live coals to the ends of his fingers, where they

and that the French named it Lac du Saint Sacrement because they arrived on its shores on the eve of the festival celebrated in honor of the Eucharist or the Lord's Supper. Notwithstanding this very plain statement, it has been affirmed without any historical foundation whatever, that the original Indian name of this lake was Horican, and that the Jesuit missionaries, having selected it for the typical purification of baptism on account of its limpid waters, named it Lac du Saint Sacrement. This perversion of history originated in the extraordinary declaration of Mr. James Fenimore Cooper, in his novel entitled "The Last of the Mohicans," in which thefe two erroneous statements are given as veritable hiftory. This new discovery by Cooper was heralded by the public journals, fcholars were deceived, and the bold imposition was fo fuccessful that it was even introduced into a meritorious poem in which the Horican of the and Oregon, by George Gibbs, idem, ancient tribes and the baptismal waters Vol. I. p. 192.

of the limpid lake are handled with skill and effect. Twenty-five years after the writing of his novel, Mr. Cooper's conscience began seriously to trouble him, and he publicly confessed, in a preface to "The Last of the Mohicans," that the name Horican had been first applied to the lake by himfelf, and without any historical authority. He is filent as to the reason he had affigned for the French name of the lake, which was probably an affumption growing out of his ignorance of its meaning. - Vide The Last of The Mohicans, by J. Fenimore Cooper, Gregory's ed., New York, 1864, pp. ix-x and 12.

64 " There are certain general customs which mark the California Indians, as, the non-use of torture on prisoners of war," &c. - Vide The Tribes of California, by Stephen Powers, in Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. III. p. 15. Tribes of Washington

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would give the most exquisite pain. They tore out his finger-nails, and, with sharp slivers of wood, pierced his wrists and rudely forced out the quivering finews. They flayed off the skin from the top of his head,65 and poured upon the bleeding wound a stream of boiling melted gum. Champlain remonstrated in vain. The piteous cries of the poor, tormented victim excited his unavailing compassion, and he turned away in anger and difgust. At length, when these inhuman tortures had been carried as far as they defired, Champlain was permitted, at his earnest request, with a musket-shot to put an end to his fufferings. But this was not the termination of the horrid performance. The dead victim was hacked in pieces, his heart fevered into parts, and the furviving prisoners were ordered to eat it. This was too revolting to their nature, degraded as it was; they were forced, however, to take it into their mouths, but they would do no more, and their guard of more compassionate Algonquins allowed them to cast it into the lake.

This exhibition of favage cruelty was not extraordinary, but according to their usual custom. It was equalled, and, if possible, even surpassed, in the treatment of captives generally

65 "It has been erroneously afferted as trophies is mentioned by Lalemant, that the practice of fcalping did not prevail among the Indians before the advent of Europeans. In 1535, Cartier faw five fcalps at Quebec, dried and flretched on hoops. In 1564, Laudonnière faw them among the Indians of Florida. The Algonquins of New England and Nova Scotia were accustomed to cut off and carry away the head, which they afterwards fcalped. Those of Canada, it feems, fometimes fcalped the dead bodies on the field. The Algonquin practice of carrying off heads

Roger Williams, Lescarbot, and Champlain." - Vide Pioneers of France in the New World, by Francis Parkman, Boston, 1874, p. 322. The practice of the tribes on the Pacific coast is different. "In war they do not take fcalps, but decapitate the flain and bring in the heads as trophies." - Contributions to Am. Ethnology, by Stephen Powers, Washington, 1877, Vol. III. pp. 21, 221. Vide Vol. I. p. 192. The Yuki are an exception. Vol. III. p. 129.

generally, and especially of the Jesuit missionaries in after

years.66

When the party arrived at the Falls of Chambly, the Hurons and Algonquins left the river, in order to reach their homes by a fhorter way, transporting their canoes and effects over land to the St. Lawrence near Montreal, while the rest continued their journey down the Richelieu and the St. Lawrence to Tadoussac, where their families were encamped, waiting to join in the usual ceremonies and rejoicings after a

great victory.

When the returning warriors approached Tadouffac, they hung aloft on the prow of their canoes the fcalped heads of those whom they had slain, decorated with beads which they had begged from the French for this purpose, and with a favage grace presented these ghastly trophies to their wives and daughters, who, laying aside their garments, eagerly swam out to obtain the precious mementoes, which they hung about their necks and bore rejoicing to the shore, where they further testified their satisfaction by dancing and singing.

After a few days, Champlain repaired to Quebec, and early in September decided to return with Pont Gravé to France. All arrangements were fpeedily made for that purpose. Fifteen men were left to pass the winter at Quebec, in charge of Captain Pierre Chavin of Dieppe. On the 5th of September they sailed from Tadoussac, and, lingering some days at Isle Percé, arrived at Honsleur on the 13th of October,

1609.

Champlain

<sup>68</sup> For an account of the fufferings of History of Catholic Miffions, by John Brébeuf, Lalemant, and Jogues, see Gilmary Shea, pp. 188, 189, 217.

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Champlain haftened immediately to Fontainebleau, to make a detailed report of his proceedings to Sieur de Monts, who was there in official attendance upon the king.67 On this occasion he fought an audience also with Henry IV., who had been his friend and patron from the time of his first voyage to Canada in 1603. In addition to the new discoveries and observations which he detailed to him, he exhibited a belt curiously wrought and inlaid with porcupine-quills, the work of the favages, which especially drew forth the king's admiration. He also presented two specimens of the fcarlet tanager, Pyranga rubra, a bird of great brilliancy of plumage and peculiar to this continent, and likewise the head of a gar-pike, a fish of fingular characteristics, then known only in the waters of Lake Champlain.68

At this time De Monts was urgently feeking a renewal of his commission for the monopoly of the fur-trade. In this Champlain was deeply interested. But to this monopoly a powerful opposition arose, and all efforts at renewal proved utterly fruitless. De Monts did not, however, abandon the enterprise on which he had entered. Renewing his engagements with the merchants of Rouen with whom he had already been affociated, he refolved to fend out in the early fpring, as a private enterprife and without any special privileges or monopoly, two veffels with the necessary equipments for strengthening his colony at Quebec and for carrying on trade as ufual with the Indians.

Champlain was again appointed lieutenant, charged with

the king's chamber. "Gentil-homme ordinaire de nôstre Chambre." - Vide

<sup>67</sup> He was gentleman in ordinary to par Marc Lescarbot, Paris, 1612, p.

<sup>432. 68</sup> Called by the Indians chaousarou. Commission du Roy au Sieur de For a full account of this crustacean Monts, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, vide Vol. II. note 343.

the government and management of the colony, with the expectation of passing the next winter at Quebec, while Pont Gravé, as he had been before, was specially entrusted with

the commercial department of the expedition.

They embarked at Honfleur, but were detained in the English Channel by bad weather for some days. In the mean time Champlain was taken seriously ill, the vessel needed additional ballast, and returned to port, and they did not finally put to sea till the 8th of April. They arrived at Tadoussac on the 26th of the same month, in the year 1610, and, two days later, sailed for Quebec, where they sound the commander, Captain Chavin, and the little colony all in excellent health.

The establishment at Quebec, it is to be remembered, was now a private enterprife. It existed by no chartered rights, it was protected by no exclusive authority. There was confequently little encouragement for its enlargement beyond what was necessary as a base of commercial operations. The limited cares of the colony left, therefore, to Champlain, a larger scope for the exercise of his indomitable desire for exploration and adventure. Explorations could not, however, be carried forward without the concurrence and guidance of the favages by whom he was immediately furrounded. Friendly relations existed between the French and the united tribes of Montagnais, Hurons, and Algonquins, who occupied the northern shores of the St. Lawrence and the great lakes. A burning hatred existed between these tribes and the Iroquois, occupying the fouthern shores of the same river. A deadly warfare was their chief employment, and every fummer each party was engaged either in repelling an invafion

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vafion or in making one in the territory of the other. Those friendly to Champlain were quite ready to act as pioneers in his explorations and discoveries, but they expected and demanded in return that he should give them active perfonal affistance in their wars. Influenced, doubtless, by policy, the spirit of the age, and his early education in the civil conflicts of France, Champlain did not hesitate to enter into an alliance and an exchange of services on these terms.

In the preceding year, two journeys into diftant regions had been planned for exploration and difcovery. One beginning at Three Rivers, was to furvey, under the guidance of the Montagnais, the river St. Maurice to its fource, and thence, by different channels and portages, reach Lake St. John, returning by the Saguenay, making in the circuit a diftance of not lefs than eight hundred miles. The other plan was to explore, under the direction of the Hurons and Algonquins, the vaft country over which they were accustomed to roam, passing up the Ottawa, and reaching in the end the region of the copper mines on Lake Superior, a journey not lefs than twice the extent of the former.

Neither of these explorations could be undertaken the present year. Their importance, however, to the future progress of colonization in New France is sufficiently obvious. The purpose of making these surveys shows the breadth and wisdom of Champlain's views, and that hardships or dangers were not permitted to interfere with his patriotic sense of duty.

Soon after his arrival at Quebec, the favages began to asfemble to engage in their usual summer's entertainment of making war upon the Iroquois. Sixty Montagnais, equipped

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in their rude armor, were haftening to the rendezvous which, by agreement made the year before, was to be at the mouth of the Richelieu.69 Hither were to come the three allied tribes, and pass together up this river into Lake Champlain, the "gate" or war-path through which these hostile clans were accustomed to make their yearly pilgrimage to meet each other in deadly conflict. Sending forward four barques for trading purposes, Champlain repaired to the mouth of the Richelieu, and landed, in company with the Montagnais. on the Island St. Ignace, on the 19th of June. While preparations were making to receive their Algonquin allies from the region of the Ottawa, news came that they had already arrived, and that they had discovered a hundred Iroquois ftrongly barricaded in a log fort, which they had haftily thrown together on the brink of the river not far diftant, and to capture them the affiftance of all parties was needed without delay. Champlain, with four Frenchmen and the fixty Montagnais, left the island in haste, passed over to the mainland, where they left their canoes, and eagerly rushed through the marshy forest a distance of two miles. Burdened with their heavy armor, half confumed by mosquitoes which were so thick that they were fcarcely able to breathe, covered with mud and water, they at length flood before the Iroquois fort.70 It was a structure of logs laid one upon another, braced and held together by posts coupled by withes, and of the usual circular form. It offered a good protection in favage warfare.

70 Champlain's description does not

<sup>69</sup> The mouth of the Richelieu was the usual place of meeting. In 1603, the enable us to identify the place of this allied tribes were there when Champlain afcended the St. Lawrence. They had a fort, which he describes. — Vide poster, ing the island of St. Ignace, and going

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fare. Even the French arquebus discharged through the crevices did slow execution.

It was obvious to Champlain that, to ensure victory, the fort must be demolished. Huge trees, severed at the base, falling upon it, did not break it down. At length, directed by Champlain, the savages approached under their shields, tore away the supporting posts, and thus made a breach, into which rushed the infuriated besiegers, and in hot haste finished their deadly work. Fifteen of the Iroquois were taken prisoners; a few plunged into the river and were drowned; the rest perished by musket-shots, arrow-wounds, the tomahawk, and the war-club. Of the allied savages three were killed and sifty wounded. Champlain himself did not escape altogether

half a league, croffing the river, they landed, when they were plainly on the mainland near the mouth of the Richelieu. They then went half a league, and finding themselves outrun by their Indian guides and loft, they called to two favages, whom they faw going through the woods, to guide them. Going a short distance, they were met by a messenger from the scene of conflict, to urge them to haften forwards. Then, after going less than an eighth of a league, they were within the found of the voices of the combatants at the fort. These distances are estimated without measurement, and, of course, are inexact: but, putting the diftances mentioned altogether, the journey through the woods to the fort was apparently a little more than two miles. Had they followed the course of the river, the diftance would probably have been fomewhat more: perhaps nearly three miles. Champlain does not positively say that the fort was on the Richelieu, but the whole narrative leaves no doubt that fuch was the fact. This river was the

avenue through which the Iroquois were accustomed to come, and they would naturally encamp here where they could choose their own ground, and where their enemies were fure to approach them. If we refer to Champlain's illustration of Fort des Iroquois, Vol. II. p. 241, we shall ob-ferve that the river is pictured as comparatively narrow, which could hardly be a true representation if it were intended for the St. Lawrence. The efcaping Iroquois are reprefented as fwimming towards the right, which was probably in the direction of their homes on the fouth, the natural course of their retreat. The shallop of Des Prairies, who arrived late, is on the left of the fort, at the exact point where he would naturally difembark if he came up the Richelieu from the St. Lawrence. From a fludy of the whole narrative, together with the map, we infer that the fort was on the western bank of the Richelieu, between two and three miles from its mouth. We are confident that its location cannot be more definitely fixed.

altogether unharmed. An arrow, armed with a fharp point of stone, pierced his ear and neck, which he drew out with his own hand. One of his companions received a similar wound in the arm. The victors scalped the dead as usual, ornamenting the prows of their canoes with the bleeding heads of their enemies, while they severed one of the bodies into quarters, to eat, as they alleged, in revenge.

The canoes of the favages and a French shallop having come to the scene of this battle, all soon embarked and returned to the Island of St. Ignace. Here the allies, joined by eighty Huron warriors who had arrived too late to participate in the conflict, remained three days, celebrating their victory by dancing, finging, and the administration of the usual punishment upon their prisoners of war. This confifted in a variety of exquisite tortures, similar to those inflicted the year before, after the victory on Lake Champlain, horrible and fickening in all their features, and which need not be fpread upon these pages. From these tortures Champlain would gladly have fnatched the poor wretches, had it been in his power, but in this matter the favages would brook no interference. There was a folitary exception, however, in a fortunate young Iroquois who fell to him in the division of prisoners. He was treated with great kindnefs, but it did not overcome his exceffive fear and diffrust, and he foon fought an opportunity and escaped to his home,71

When the celebration of the victory had been completed, the Indians departed to their diffant abodes. Champlain, however,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> For a full account of the Indian treatment of prisoners, vide antea, pp. 94, 95. Also Vol. II. pp. 224-227, 244-246.

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however, before their departure, very wifely entered into an agreement that they should receive for the winter a young Frenchman who was anxious to learn their language, and, in return, he was himself to take a young Huron, at their special request, to pass the winter in France. This judicious arrangement, in which Champlain was deeply interested and which he found some difficulty in accomplishing, promised an important suture advantage in extending the knowledge of both parties, and in strengthening on the foundation of personal experience their mutual confidence and friendship.

After the departure of the Indians, Champlain returned to Quebec, and proceeded to put the buildings in repair and to fee that all necessary arrangements were made for the fafety and comfort of the colony during the next winter.

On the 4th of July, Des Marais, in charge of the veffel belonging to De Monts and his company, which had been left behind and had been expected foon to follow, arrived at Quebec, bringing the intelligence that a fmall revolution had taken place in Brouage, the home of Champlain, that the Protestants had been expelled, and an additional guard of foldiers had been placed in the garrifon. Des Marais also brought the flartling news that Henry IV. had been affaffinated on the 14th of May. Champlain was penetrated by this announcement with the deepest forrow. He fully saw how great a public calamity had fallen upon his country. France had loft, by an ignominious blow, one of her ableft and wifeft fovereigns, who had, by his marvellous power, gradually united and compacted the great interests of the nation, which had been shattered and torn by half a century of civil conflicts and domestic feuds. It was also to him a personal loss.

The

The king had taken a special interest in his undertakings, had been his patron from the time of his first voyage to New France in 1603, had fustained him by an annual pension, and on many occasions had shown by word and deed that he fully appreciated the great value of his explorations in his American domains. It was difficult to fee how a loss fo great both to his country and himself could be repaired. A cloud of doubt and uncertainty hung over the future. The condition of the company, likewife, under whose auspices he was acting, prefented at this time no very encouraging features. The returns from the fur-trade had been fmall, owing to the lofs of the monopoly which the company had formerly enjoyed, and the excessive competition which free-trade had stimulated. Only a limited attention had as yet been given to the cultivation of the foil. Garden vegetables had been placed in cultivation, together with small fields of Indian corn, wheat, rye, and barley. These attempts at agriculture were doubtless experiments, while at the same time they were useful in supplementing the stores needed for the colony's confumption.

Champlain's personal presence was not required at Quebec during the winter, as no active enterprise could be carried forward in that inclement season, and he decided, therefore, to return to France. The little colony now consisted of sixteen men, which he placed in charge, during his absence, of Sieur Du Parc. He accordingly left Tadoussac on the 13th of August, and arrived at Honsleur in France on the 27th

of September, 1610.

During the autumn of this year, while refiding in Paris, Champlain became attached to Hélène Boullé, the daughter

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of Nicholas Boullé, fecretary of the king's chamber. She was at that time a mere child, and of too tender years to act for herfelf, particularly in matters of fo great importance as those which relate to marital relations. However, agreeably to a custom not infrequent at that period, a marriage contract 72 was entered into on the 27th of December with her parents, in which, nevertheless, it was stipulated that the nuptials should not take place within at least two years from that date. The dowry of the future bride was fixed at fix thousand livres tournois, three fourths of which were paid and receipted for by Champlain two days after the figning of the contract. The marriage was afterward confummated, and Helen Boullé, as his wife, accompanied Champlain to Quebec, in 1620, as we shall fee in the sequel.

Notwithstanding the discouragements of the preceding year and the small prospect of future success, De Monts and the merchants affociated with him still persevered in sending another expedition, and Champlain left Honfleur for New France on the first day of March, 1611. Unfortunately, the voyage had been undertaken too early in the feafon for thefe northern waters, and long before they reached the Grand Banks, they encountered ice-floes of the most dangerous character. Huge blocks of cryftal, towering two hundred feet above the furface of the water, floated at times near

four years old and the bride-elect had just entered her fixth year. The great Condé, by the urgency of his avaricious father, was unwillingly married at the common at that period, the following age of twenty, to Claire Clemence de are examples. Céfar, the fon of Henry Maillé Brézé, the niece of Cardinal IV., was espoused by public ceremonies Richelieu, when she was but thirteen

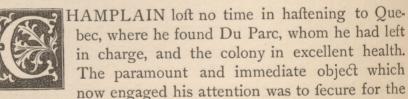
<sup>72</sup> Vide Contrat de mariage de Sa- cœur in 1598. The bridegroom was muel de Champlain, Œuvres de Champlain, Quebec ed. Vol. VI., Pièces Justificatives, p. 33.

Among the early marriages not unto the daughter of the Duke de Mer- years of age.

them, and at others they were furrounded and hemmed in by vaft fields of ice extending as far as the eye could reach. Amid these ceaseless perils, momentarily expecting to be crushed between the floating islands wheeling to and fro about them, they struggled with the elements for nearly two months, when finally they reached Tadoussac on the 13th of May.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE FUR-TRADE AT MONTREAL.—COMPETITION AT THE RENDEZVOUS.—NO EXPLORATIONS.—CHAMPLAIN RETURNS TO FRANCE.—REORGANIZATION OF THE COMPANY.—COUNT DE SOISSONS, HIS DEATH.—PRINCE DE CONDÉ.—CHAMPLAIN'S RETURN TO NEW FRANCE AND TRADE WITH THE INDIANS.—EXPLORATION AND DE VIGNAN, THE FALSE GUIDE.—INDIAN CEREMONY AT CHAUDIÈRE FALLS.



present season the fur-trade of the Indians. This furnished the chief pecuniary support of De Monts's company, and was absolutely necessary to its existence. He soon, therefore, took his departure for the Falls of St. Louis, situated a short distance above Montreal, and now better known as La Chine Rapids. In the preceding year, this place had been agreed upon as a rendezvous by the friendly tribes. But, as they had not arrived, Champlain proceeded to make a thorough exploration on both sides of the St. Lawrence, extending his journeys more than twenty miles through the forests and along

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along the shores of the river, for the purpose of selecting a proper site for a trading-house, with doubtless an ultimate purpose of making it a permanent settlement. After a full survey, he sinally fixed upon a point of land which he named La Place Royale, situated within the present city of Montreal, on the eastern side of the little brook Pierre, where it slows into the St. Lawrence, at Point à Callière. On the banks of this small stream there were found evidences that the land to the extent of sixty acres had at some former period been cleared up and cultivated by the savages, but more recently had been entirely abandoned on account of the wars, as he learned from his Indian guides, in which they were incessantly engaged.

Near the fpot which had thus been felected for a future fettlement, Champlain discovered a deposit of excellent clay, and, by way of experiment, had a quantity of it manufactured into bricks, of which he made a wall on the brink of the river, to test their power of resisting the frosts and the floods. Gardens were also made and feeds fown, to prove the quality of the foil. A weary month passed slowly away, with fcarcely an incident to break the monotony, except the drowning of two Indians, who had unwifely attempted to pass the rapids in a bark canoe overloaded with heron, which they had taken on an island above. In the mean time, Champlain had been followed to his rendezvous by a herd of adventurers from the maritime towns of France, who, stimulated by the freedom of trade, had flocked after him in numbers out of all proportion to the amount of furs which they could hope to obtain from the wandering bands of favages that might chance to vifit the St. Lawrence. The river

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was lined with these voracious cormorants, anxiously watching the coming of the savages, all impatient and eager to secure as large a share as possible of the uncertain and meagre booty for which they had crossed the Atlantic. Fifteen or twenty barques were moored along the shore, all seeking the best opportunity for the display of the worthless trinkets for which they had avariciously hoped to obtain a valuable

cargo of furs.

A long line of canoes was at length feen far in the diffance. It was a fleet of two hundred Hurons, who had fwept down the rapids, and were now approaching flowly and in a dignified and impressive order. On coming near, they set up a fimultaneous shout, the token of favage greeting, which made the welkin ring. This falute was answered by a hundred French arquebuses from barque and boat and shore. The unexpected multitude of the French, the newness of the firearms to most of them, filled the favages with difmay. They concealed their fear as well and as long as possible. They deliberately built their cabins on the shore, but soon threw up a barricade, then called a council at midnight, and finally, under pretence of a beaver-hunt, fuddenly removed above the rapids, where they knew the French barques could not come. When they were thus in a place of fafety, they confessed to Champlain that they had faith in him, which they confirmed by valuable gifts of furs, but none whatever in the grasping herd that had followed him to the rendezvous. The trade, meagre in the aggregate, divided among fo many, had proved a lofs to all. It was foon completed, and the favages departed to their homes. Subfequently, thirty-eight canoes, with eighty or a hundred Algonquin 1611,

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gonquin warriors, came to the rendezvous. They brought, however, but a fmall quantity of furs, which added little to the lucrative character of the fummer's trade.

The reader will bear in mind that Champlain was not here merely as the fuperintendent and responsible agent of a trading expedition. This was a fubordinate purpose, and the refult of circumstances which his principal did not choose, but into which he had been unwillingly forced. It was necessary not to overlook this interest in the present exigency, nevertheless De Monts was sustained by an ulterior purpose of a far higher and nobler character. He still entertained the hope that he should yet secure a royal charter under which his aspirations for colonial enterprise should have full fcope, and that his ambition would be finally crowned with the fuccess which he had so long coveted, and for which he had fo affiduoufly labored. Champlain, who had been for many years the geographer of the king, who had carefully reported, as he advanced into unexplored regions, his furveys of the rivers, harbors, and lakes, and had given faithful defcriptions of the native inhabitants, knowledge abfolutely necessary as a preliminary step in laying the foundation of a French empire in America, did not for a moment lose fight of this ulterior purpose. Amid the commercial operations to which for the time being he was obliged to devote his chief attention, he tried in vain to induce the Indians to conduct an exploring party up the St. Maurice, and thus reach the headwaters of the Saguenay, a journey which had been planned two years before. They had excellent excuses to offer, and the undertaking was necessarily deferred for the present. He, however, obtained much valuable information

from

from them in conversations, in regard to the source of the St. Lawrence, the topography of the country which they inhabited, and even drawings were executed by them to illustrate to him other regions which they had personally visited.

On the 18th of July, Champlain left the rendezvous, and arrived at Quebec on the evening of the next day. Having ordered all necessary repairs at the settlement, and, not unmindful of its adornment, planted rose-bushes about it, and taking specimens of oak timber to exhibit in France, he left for Tadoussac, and finally for France on the 11th of August, and arrived at Rochelle on the 16th of September, 1611.

Immediately on his arrival, Champlain repaired to the city of Pons, in Saintonge, of which De Monts was governor, and laid before him the fituation of his affairs at Quebec. De Monts still clung to the hope of obtaining a royal commission for the exclusive right of trade, but his associates were wholly disheartened by the competition and consequent loffes of the last year, and had the fagacity to fee that there was no hope of a remedy in the future. They accordingly declined to continue further expenditures. De Monts purchased their interest in the establishment at Quebec, and, notwithstanding the obstacles which had been and were still to be encountered, was brave enough to believe that he could ftem the tide unaided and alone. He hastened to Paris to fecure the much coveted commission from the king. Important business, however, soon called him in another direction, and the whole matter was placed in the hands of Champlain, with the understanding that important modifications were to 1611

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The burden thus unexpectedly laid upon Champlain was not a light one. His experience and perfonal knowledge led him to appreciate more fully than any one else the difficulties that environed the enterprife of planting a colony in New France. He faw very clearly that a royal commiffion merely, with whatever exclusive rights it conferred, would in itself be ineffectual and powerless in the present complications. It was obvious to him that the administration must be adapted to the state of affairs that had gradually grown up at Quebec, and that it must be sustained by powerful personal influence.

Champlain proceeded, therefore, to draw up certain rules and regulations which he deemed necessary for the management of the colony and the protection of its interests. leading characteristics of the plan were, first, an affociation of which all who defired to carry on trade in New France might become members, sharing equally in its advantages and its burdens, its profits and its loffes: and, fecondly, that it should be presided over by a viceroy of high position and commanding influence. De Monts, who had thus far been at the head of the undertaking, was a gentleman of great respectability, zeal, and honesty, but his name did not, as society was constituted at that time in France, carry with it any controlling weight with the merchants or others whose views were adverse to his own. He was unable to carry out any plans which involved expense, either for the exploration of the country or for the enlargement and growth of the colony. It was neceffary, in the opinion of Champlain, to

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place at the head of the company a man of fuch exalted official and focial position that his opinions would be listened to with respect and his wishes obeyed with alacrity.

He fubmitted his plan to De Monts and likewife to Prefident Jeannin,73 a man venerable with age, distinguished for his wifdom and probity, and at this time having under his control the finances of the kingdom. They both pronounced

it excellent and urged its execution.

Having thus obtained the cordial and intelligent affent of the highest authority to his scheme, his next step was to secure a viceroy whose exalted name and standing should conform to the requirements of his plan. This was an object fomewhat difficult to attain. It was not easy to find a nobleman who possessed all the qualities defired. After careful confideration, however, the Count de Soiffons 74 was thought

78 Pierre Jeannin was born at Autun, bon, was born at Nogent-le-Rotrou, in in 1540, and died about 1622. He began the practice of law at Dijon, in 1569. Though a Catholic, he always counselled tolerant measures in the treatment of the Protestants. By his influence he prevented the maffacre of the Protestants at Dijon in 1572. He was a Councillor, and afterward Prefident, of the Parliament of Dijon. He was the private adviser of the Duke of Mayenne. He united himself with the party of the League in 1589. He negotiated the peace between Mayenne and Henry IV. The king became greatly attached to him, and appointed him a Councillor of State and Superintendent of Finances. He held many offices and did great fervice to the State. After the death of the king, Marie de Médicis, the regent, continued him as Superintendent of Finances.

74 Count de Soissons, Charles de Bour- crowns.

1556, and died Nov. 1, 1612. He was educated in the Catholic religion. He acted for a time with the party of the League, but, falling in love with Catherine, the fifter of Henry IV., better to fecure his object he abandoned the League and took a military command under Henry III., and distinguished himself for bravery when the king was belieged in Tours. After the death of the king, he espoused the cause of Henry IV., was made Grand Master of France, and took part in the fiege of Paris. He attempted a fecret marriage with Catherine, but was thwarted; and the unhappy lovers were compelled, by the Duke of Sully, to renounce their matrimonial intentions. He had been Governor of Dauphiny, and, at the time of his death, was Governor of Normandy, with a pension of 50,000

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to unite better than any other the characteristics which the office required. Champlain, therefore, laid before the Count, through a member of the king's council, a detailed exhibition of his plan and a map of New France executed by himfelf. He foon after received an intimation from this nobleman of his willingness to accept the office, if he should be appointed. A petition was fent by Champlain to the king and his council, and the appointment was made on the 8th of October, 1612, and on the 15th of the fame month the Count iffued a commiffion appointing Champlain his lieutenant.

Before this commission had been published in the ports and the maritime towns of France, as required by law, and before a month had elapfed, unhappily the death of the Count de Soiffons fuddenly occurred at his Château de Blandy. Henry de Bourbon, the Prince de Condé,75 was haftily appointed his fucceffor, and a new commission was issued to Champlain on the 22d of November of the fame year.

The appointment of this prince carried with it the weight of high position and influence, though hardly the character

which

75 Prince de Condé, Henry de Bourbon II., the posthumous fon of the first Henry de Bourbon, was born at Saint Jean d'Angely, in 1588. He married, in 1609, Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency, the fifter of Henry, the Duke de Montmorency, who fucceeded him as the Viceroy of New France. To avoid the impertinent gallantries of Henry IV., who had fallen in love with this beautiful Princefs, Condé and his wife left France, and did not return till the death of the king. He headed a conspiracy against the Regent, Marie de Médicis, and was thrown into prison on by Marie de Médicis, the Queen Re-

ambition, and more particularly by his avarice, he forced his fon Louis, Le Grand Condé, to marry the niece of Cardinal Richelieu, Claire Clémence de Maillé-Brézé. He did much to confer power and influence upon his family, largely through his avarice, which was his chief characteristic. The wit of Voltaire attributes his crowning glory to his having been the father of the great Condé. During the detention of the Prince de Condé in prison, the Marefchal de Thémins was Acting Viceroy of New France, having been appointed the first of September, 1616, where he gent. -Vide Voyages dv Sievr de remained three years. Influenced by Champlain, Paris, 1632, p. 211.

which would have been most desirable under the circumstances. He was, however, a potent safeguard against the final success, though not indeed of the attempt on the part of enemies, to break up the company, or to interfere with its plans. No sooner had the publication of the commission been undertaken, than the merchants, who had schemes of trade in New France, put forth a powerful opposition. The Parliamentary Court at Rouen even forbade its publication in that city, and the merchants of St. Malo renewed their opposition, which had before been set forth, on the slimsy ground that Jacques Cartier, the discoverer of New France, was a native of their municipality, and therefore they had rights prior and superior to all others.

After much delay and feveral journeys by Champlain to Rouen, these difficulties were overcome. There was, indeed, no solid ground of opposition, as none were debarred from engaging in the enterprise who were willing to share in the

burdens as well as the profits.

These delays prevented the complete organization of the company contemplated by Champlain's new plan, but it was nevertheless necessary for him to make the voyage to Quebec the present season, in order to keep up the continuity of his operations there, and to renew his friendly relations with the Indians, who had been greatly disappointed at not seeing him the preceding year. Four vessels, therefore, were authorized to fail under the commission of the viceroy, each of which was to furnish four men for the service of Champlain in explorations and in aid of the Indians in their wars, if it should be necessary.

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old friend Pont Gravé, on the 6th of March, 1613, and arrived at Tadoussac on the 29th of April. On the 7th of May he reached Quebec, where he found the little colony in excellent condition, the winter having been exceedingly mild and agreeable, the river not having been frozen in the feverest weather. He repaired at once to the trading rendezvous at Montreal, then commonly known as the Falls of St. Louis. He learned from a trading barque that had preceded him, that a fmall band of Algonquins had already been there on their return from a raid upon the Iroquois. They had, however, departed to their homes to celebrate a feaft, at which the torture of two captives whom they had taken from the Iroquois was to form the chief element in the entertainment. A few days later, three Algonquin canoes arrived from the interior with furs, which were purchased by the French. From them they learned that the ill treatment of the previous year, and their disappointment at not having seen Champlain there as they had expected, had led the Indians to abandon the idea of again coming to the rendezvous, and that large numbers of them had gone on their usual summer's expedition against the Iroquois.

Under these circumstances, Champlain resolved, in making his explorations, to vifit perfonally the Indians who had been accustomed to come to the Falls of St. Louis, to assure them of kind treatment in the future, to renew his alliance with them against their enemies, and, if possible, to induce them to come to the rendezvous, where there was a large

quantity of French goods awaiting them.

It will be remembered that an ulterior purpose of the French, in making a fettlement in North America, was to enable

enable them better to explore the interior and discover an avenue by water to the Pacific Ocean. This shorter passage to Cathay, or the land of spicery, had been the day-dream of all the great navigators in this direction for more than a hundred years. Whoever should discover it would confer a boon of untold commercial value upon his country, and crown himfelf with imperishable honor. Champlain had been inspired by this dream from the first day that he set his foot upon the foil of New France. Every indication that pointed in this direction he watched with care and feized upon with avidity. In 1611, a young man in the colony, Nicholas de Vignan, had been allowed, after the trading feafon had closed, to accompany the Algonquins to their diftant homes, and pass the winter with them. This was one of the methods which had before been fuccefsfully reforted to for obtaining important information. De Vignan returned to Quebec in the fpring of 1612, and the fame year to France. Having heard apparently fomething of Hudfon's discovery and its accompanying disaster, he made it the basis of a story drawn wholly from his own imagination, but which he well knew must make a strong impression upon Champlain and all others interested in new discoveries. He flated that, during his abode with the Indians, he had made an excursion into the forests of the north, and that he had actually discovered a sea of falt water; that the river Ottawa had its fource in a lake from which another river flowed into the fea in question; that he had feen on its shores the wreck of an English ship, from which eighty men had been taken and flain by the favages; and that they had among them an English boy, whom they were keeping to prefent to him.

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As was expected, this ftory made a ftrong impression upon the mind of Champlain. The priceless object for which he had been in search so many years seemed now within his grasp. The simplicity and directness of the narrative, and the want of any apparent motive for deception, were a strong guaranty of its truth. But, to make assurance doubly sure, Vignan was cross-examined and tested in various ways, and finally, before leaving France, was made to certify to the truth of his statement in the presence of two notaries at Rochelle. Champlain laid the story before the Chancellor de Sillery, the President Jeannin, the old Marshal de Brissac, and others, who assured him that it was a question of so great importance, that he ought at once to test the truth of the narrative by a personal exploration. He resolved, therefore, to make this one of the objects of his summer's excursion.

With two bark canoes, laden with provisions, arms, and a few trifles as prefents for the favages, an Indian guide, four Frenchmen, one of whom was the mendacious Vignan, Champlain left the rendezvous at Montreal on the 27th of May. After getting over the Lachine Rapids, they croffed Lake St. Louis and the Two Mountains, and, passing up the Ottawa, now expanding into a broad lake and again contracting into narrows, whence its pent-up waters swept over precipices and boulders in furious, foaming currents, they at length, after incredible labor, reached the island Allumette, a distance of not less than two hundred and twenty-sive miles. In no expedition which Champlain had thus far undertaken had he encountered obstacles so formidable. The falls and rapids in the river were numerous and difficult to pass. Sometimes a portage was impossible on account

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of the denfeness of the forests, in which case they were compelled to drag their canoes by ropes, wading along the edge of the water, or clinging to the precipitous banks of the river as best they could. When a portage could not be avoided. it was necessary to carry their armor, provisions, clothing, and canoes through the forests, over precipices, and sometimes over ftretches of territory where fome tornado had proftrated the huge pines in tangled confusion, through which a pathway was almost impossible.76 To lighten their burdens, nearly every thing was abandoned but their canoes. Fish and wild-fowl were an uncertain reliance for food, and fometimes they toiled on for twenty-four hours with fcarcely any thing to appeale their craving appetites.

Overcome with fatigue and oppressed by hunger, they at length arrived at Allumette Island, the abode of the chief Teffoüat, by whom they were cordially entertained. Nothing but the hope of reaching the north fea could have fuftained them amid the perils and fufferings through which they had paffed in reaching this inhospitable region. The Indians had chosen this retreat not from choice, but chiefly on account of its great inacceffibility to their enemies. They were aftonished to see Champlain and his company, and facetiously fuggested that it must be a dream, or that these new-comers

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76 In making the portage from what mosquitoes. On the old portage road,

is now known as Portage du Fort to traverfed by Champlain and his party Muskrat Lake, a distance of about nine at this time, in 1613, an astrolabe, inmiles, Champlain, though lefs heavily fcribed 1603, was found in 1867. The loaded than his companions, carried prefumptive evidence that this inftruthree French arquebusses, three oars, his cloak, and some small articles, and was at the same time bitterly oppressed by swarms of hungry and insatiable for March, 1879.

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had fallen from the clouds. After the usual ceremonies of feafting and fmoking, Champlain was permitted to lay before Teffoüat and his chiefs the object of his journey. When he informed them that he was in fearch of a falt fea far to the north of them, which had been actually feen two years before by one of his companions, he learned to his disappointment and mortification that the whole ftory of Vignan was a sheer fabrication. The miscreant had indeed passed a winter on the very fpot where they then were, but had never been a league further north. The Indians themselves had no knowledge of the north fea, and were highly enraged at the baseness of Vignan's falsehood, and craved the opportunity of despatching him at once. They jeered at him, calling him a "liar," and even the children took up the refrain, vociferating vigoroufly and heaping maledictions upon his head.

Indignant as he was, Champlain had too much philofophy in his composition to commit an indiscretion at such a moment as this. He accordingly restrained the savages and his own anger, bore his insult and disappointment with exemplary patience, giving up all hope of seeing the salt sea in this direction, as he humorously added, "except in imagination."

Before leaving Allumette Island on his return, Champlain invited Tessouat to fend a trading expedition to the Falls of St. Louis, where he would find an ample opportunity for an exchange of commodities. The invitation was readily accepted, and information was at once fent out to the neighboring chiefs, requesting them to join in the enterprise. The savages soon began to assemble, and when Champlain

left,

left, he was accompanied by forty canoes well laden with furs; others joined them at different points on the way, and on reaching Montreal the number had fwollen to eighty.

An incident occurred on their journey down the river worthy of record. When the fleet of favage fur-traders had arrived at the foot of the Chaudière Falls, not a hundred rods diftant from the fite of the prefent city of Ottawa, having completed the portage, they all affembled on the shore, before relaunching their canoes, to engage in a ceremony which they never omitted when passing this spot. A wooden plate of fuitable dimensions was passed round, into which each of the favages cast a small piece of tobacco. The plate was then placed on the ground, in the midft of the company, and all danced around it, finging at the fame time. An address was then made by one of the chiefs, setting forth the great importance of this time-honored custom, particularly as a fafeguard and protection against their enemies. Then, taking the plate, the fpeaker cast its contents into the boiling cauldron at the base of the falls, the act being accompanied by a loud shout from the assembled multitude. This fall, named the Chaudiere, or cauldron, by Champlain, formed in fact the limit above which the Iroquois rarely if ever went in hostile pursuit of the Algonquins. The region above was exceedingly difficult of approach, and from which it was still more difficult, in case of an attack, to retreat. But the Iroquois often lingered here in ambush, and fell upon the unfuspecting inhabitants of the upper Ottawa as they came down the river. It was, therefore, a place of great danger; and the Indians, enflaved by their fears and fuperfitions, did not believe it possible to make a prosperous journey,

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ney, without observing, as they passed, the ceremonies above described.

On reaching Montreal, three additional ships had arrived from France with a license to carry on trade from the Prince de Condé, the viceroy, making seven in all in port. The trade with the Indians for the furs brought in the eighty canoes, which had come with Champlain to Montreal, was soon despatched. Vignan was pardoned on the solemn promise, a condition offered by himself, that he would make a journey to the north sea and bring back a true report, having made a most humble confession of his offence in the presence of the whole colony and the Indians, who were purposely assembled to receive it. This public and formal administration of reproof was well adapted to produce a powerful effect upon the mind of the culprit, and clearly indicates the moderation and wisdom, so uniformly characteristic of Champlain's administration.

The business of the season having been completed, Champlain returned to France, arriving at St. Malo on the 26th of August, 1613. Before leaving, however, he arranged to send back with the Algonquins who had come from Isle Allumette two of his young men to pass the winter, for the purpose, as on former occasions, of learning the language and obtaining the information which comes only from an intimate and prolonged association.

CHAPTER VIII.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

CHAMPLAIN OBTAINS MISSIONARIES FOR NEW FRANCE. - MEETS THE INDI-ANS AT MONTREAL AND ENGAGES IN A WAR AGAINST THE IROOUOIS. - HIS JOURNEY TO THE HURONS, AND WINTER IN THEIR COUNTRY.

URING the whole of the year 1614, Champlain remained in France, occupied for the most part in adding new members to his company of affociates, and in forming and perfecting fuch plans as were clearly necessary for the prosper-

ity and fuccess of the colony. His mind was particularly absorbed in devising means for the establishment of the Christian faith in the wilds of America. Hitherto nothing whatever had been done in this direction, if we except the efforts of Poutrincourt on the Atlantic coast, which had already terminated in difafter.77 No miffionary of any fort had

firmation from Henry IV. of the gift to Kadesquit, on the fite of the present him of Port Royal by De Monts, and city of Bangor, in the State of Maine. proceeded to establish a colony there in A colony was accordingly organized, 1608. In 1611, a Jesuit mission was which included the fathers, Quentin planted by the Fathers Pierre Biard and Lalemant with the lay brother, and Enemond Massé. It was chiefly Gilbert du Thet, and arrived at La patronized by a bevy of ladies, under Hève in La Cadie, on the 6th of May, the leadership of the Marchioness de 1613, under the conduct of Sieur de la Guerchville, in close affociation with Sauffaye. From there they proceeded Marie de Médicis, the queen-regent, Madame de Verneuil, and Madame de Biard and Massé, on board, and coasted Soudis. Although De Poutrincourt was along the borders of Maine till they a devout member of the Roman Church, came to Mount Defert, and finally dethe miffionaries were received with re- termined to plant their colony on that luctance, and between them and the island. A short time after the arrival patentee and his lieutenant there was of the colony, before they were in any a conftant and irrepreffible discord. condition for defence, Captain Samuel The lady patroness, the Marchioness de Argall, from the English colony in Vir-

77 De Poutrincourt obtained a con- Port Royal and plant a new colony at to Port Royal, took the two missionaries, Guerchville, determined to abandon ginia, fuddenly appeared, and captured 1614

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had hitherto fet his foot upon that part of the foil of New France lying within the Gulf of St. Lawrence.78 A fresh interest had been awakened in the mind of Champlain. He faw its importance in a new light. He fought counsel and advice from various perfons whose wisdom commended them to his attention. Among the rest was Louis Houêl, an intimate friend, who held fome office about the person of the king, and who was the chief manager of the falt works at Brouage. This gentleman took a hearty interest in the project, and affured Champlain that it would not be difficult to raife the means of fending out three or four Fathers, and, moreover, that he knew fome of the order of the Recollects, belonging to a convent at Brouage, whose zeal he was fure would be equal to the undertaking. On communicating with them, he found them quite ready to engage in the work. Two of them were fent to Paris to obtain authority and encouragement from the proper fources. It happened that about this time the chief dignitaries of the church were in Paris, attending a fession of the Estates. The bishops and cardinals were waited upon by Champlain, and their zeal awakened and their co-operation fecured in raifing the neceffary means for fuftaining the mission. After the usual negotiations and delays, the object was fully accomplished; fifteen

and transported the whole colony, and subsequently that at Port Royal, on the alleged ground that they were intruders on English soil. Thus disastrously ended Poutrincourt's colony at Port Royal, and the Marchioness de Guerchville's mission at Mount Desert. — Vide Voyages par le Sr. de Champlain, Paris ed. 1632, pp. 98–114. Shea's Charlevoix, Vol. I. pp. 260–286.

<sup>78</sup> Champlain had tried to induce Madame de Guerchville to fend her miffionaries to Quebec, to avoid the obfacles which they had encountered at Port Royal; but, for the fimple reason that De Monts was a Calvinift, she would not liften to it.— Vide Shea's Charlevoix, Vol. I. p. 274; Voyages dv Sievr de Champlain, Paris ed. 1632, pp. 112, 113.

hundred *livres* were placed in the hands of Champlain for outfit and expenses, and four Recollect friars embarked with him at Honfleur, on the ship "St. Étienne," on the 24th of April, 1615, viz., Denis Jamay, Jean d'Olbeau, Joseph le

Caron, and the lay-brother Pacifique du Plessis.79

On their arrival at Quebec, Champlain addressed himself immediately to the preparation of lodgings for the missionaries and the erection of a chapel for the celebration of divine fervice. The Fathers were impatient to enter the fields of labor severally assigned to them. Joseph le Caron was appointed to visit the Hurons in their distant forest home, concerning which he had little or no information; but he nevertheless entered upon the duty with manly courage and Christian zeal. Jean D'Olbeau assumed the mission to the Montagnais, embracing the region about Tadoussac and the river Saguenay, while Denis Jamay and Pacifique du Plessis took charge of the chapel at Quebec.

At the earliest moment possible Champlain hastened to the rendezvous at Montreal, to meet the Indians who had already reached there on their annual visit for trade. The chiefs were in raptures of delight on seeing their old friend again, and had a grand scheme to propose. They had not forgotten that Champlain had often promised to aid them in their wars. They approached the subject, however, with moderation and diplomatic wisdom. They knew perfectly well that the trade in peltry was greatly desired, in fact that it was indispensable to the French. The substance of what they had to say was this. It had become now, if not impossible, exceedingly hazardous, to bring their surs to market.

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<sup>79</sup> Vide Histoire du Canada, par Gabriel Sagard, Paris, 1636, pp. 11-12.

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Their enemies, the Iroquois, like fo many prowling wolves, were fure to be on their trail as they came down the Ottawa, and, incumbered with their loaded canoes, the ftruggle must be unequal, and it was nearly impossible for them ever to be winners. The only solution of the difficulty known to them, or which they cared to consider, as in all Indian warfare, was to annihilate their enemies utterly and wipe out their name for ever. Let this be done, and the fruits of peace would return, their commerce would be safe, prosperous, and greatly augmented.

Such were the reasons presented by the allies. But there were other considerations, likewise, which influenced the mind of Champlain. It was necessary to maintain a close and firm alliance with the Indians in order to extend the French discoveries and domain into new and more distant regions, and on this extension of French influence depended their hope of converting the savages to the Christian faith. The force of these considerations could not be resisted. Champlain decided that, under the circumstances, it was

necessary to give them the defired affistance.

A general affembly was called, and the nature and extent of the campaign fully confidered. It was to be of vaftly greater proportions than any that had hitherto been proposed. The Indians offered to furnish two thousand five hundred and fifty men, but they were to be gathered together from different and distant points. The journey must, therefore, be long and perilous. The objective point, viz., a celebrated Iroquois fort, could not be reached by the only feasible route in a less distance than eight hundred or nine hundred miles, and it would require an absence of three or four months.

Preparations

Preparations for the journey were entered upon at once. Champlain vifited Quebec to make arrangements for his long absence. On his return to Montreal, the Indians, impatient of delay, had already departed, and Father Joseph le Caron had gone with them to his distant field of missionary labor among the Hurons.

On the 9th of July, 1615, Champlain embarked, taking with him an interpreter, probably Étienne Brûlé, a French fervant, and ten favages, who, with their equipments, were to be accommodated in two canoes. They entered the Rivière des Prairies, which flows into the St. Lawrence fome leagues east of Montreal, croffing the Lake of the Two Mountains, paffed up the Ottawa, taking the fame route which he had traversed some years before, revisiting its long succession of reaches, its placid lakes, impetuous rapids, and magnificent falls, and at length arrived at the point where the river, by an abrupt angle, begins to flow from the northwest. Here, leaving the Ottawa, they entered the Mattawan, paffing down this river into Lac du Talon, thence into Lac la Tortue, and by a short portage, into Lake Nipissing. After remaining here two days, entertained generously by the Nipissingian chiefs, they croffed the lake, and, following the channel of French River, entered Lake Huron, or rather the Georgian Bay. They coasted along until they reached the northern limits of the county of Simcoe. Here they difembarked and entered the territory of their old friends and allies, the Hurons.

The domain of this tribe confifted of a peninfula formed by the Georgian Bay, the river Severn, and Lake Simcoe, at the farthest, not more than forty by twenty-five miles in extent, at once

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extent, but more generally cultivated by the native population, and of a richer foil than any region hitherto explored north of the St. Lawrence and the lakes. They visited four of their villages and were cordially received and feafted on Indian corn, fquashes, and fish, with some variety in the methods of cooking. They then proceeded to Carhagouha, 80 a town fortified with a triple palifade of wood thirty-five feet in height. Here they found the Recollect Father Joseph Le Caron, who, having preceded them but a few days, and not anticipating the vifit, was filled with raptures of aftonishment and joy. The good Father was intent upon his pious work. On the 12th of August, surrounded by his followers, he formally erected a cross as a symbol of the faith, and on the same day they celebrated the mass and chanted TE DEUM LAUDAMUS for the first time.

Lingering but two days, Champlain and ten of the French, eight of whom had belonged to the fuite of Le Caron, proceeded flowly towards Cahiagué,81 the rendezvous where the mustering hosts of the savage warriors were to set forth together upon their hostile excursion into the country of the Iroquois. Of the Huron villages vifited by them, fix are particularly mentioned as fortified by triple palifades of wood. Cahiagué, the capital, encircled two hundred large cabins within its wooden walls. It was fituated on the north

village on the extreme eastern limit of known as Saint-Fean Baptiste.

Saint Gabriel. Dr. J. C. Taché, of county, in the bend of the river Severn, Ottawa, Canada, who has given much a fhort distance after it leaves Lake attention to the subject, fixes this village Couchiching. The Indian warriors do in the central part of the prefent town-ship of Tiny, in the county of Simcoe. not appear to have launched their flo-tilla of bark canoes until they reached the fishing station at the outlet of Lake 81 Cahiagué. Dr. Taché places this Simcoe. This village was subsequently

<sup>80</sup> Carhagouha, named by the French the township of Orillia, in the same -MS. Letter, Feb. 11, 1880.

of Lake Simcoe, ten or twelve miles from this body of water, furrounded by a country rich in corn, fquashes, and a great variety of small fruits, with plenty of game and fish. When the warriors had mostly assembled, the motley crowd, bearing their bark canoes, meal, and equipments on their shoulders, moved down in a fouthwesterly direction till they reached the narrow strait that unites Lake Chouchiching with Lake Simcoe, where the Hurons had a famous fishing wear. Here they remained some time for other more tardy bands to join them. At this point they despatched twelve of the most stalwart savages, with the interpreter, Étienne Brûlé, on a dangerous journey to a distant tribe dwelling on the west of the Five Nations, to urge them to hasten to the fort of the Iroquois, as they had already received word from them that they would join them in this campaign.

Champlain and his allies foon left the fishing wear and coasted along the northeastern shore of Lake Simcoe until they reached its most eastern border, when they made a portage to Sturgeon Lake, thence sweeping down Pigeon and Stony Lakes, through the Otonabee into Rice Lake, the River Trent, the Bay of Quinté, and finally rounding the eastern point of Amherst Island, they were fairly on the waters of Lake Ontario, just as it merges into the great River St. Lawrence, and where the Thousand Islands begin to loom into sight. Here they crossed the extremity of the lake at its outflow into the river, pausing at this important geographical point to take the latitude, which, by his imperfect in surpresents. Champlein formal to the late of the strength of the latitude of the strength of the latitude of the strength of the latitude, which, by his imperfect in surpresents.

instruments, Champlain found to be 43° north.82

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> The latitude of Champlain is here far from correct. It is not possible to determine the exact place at which it

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Sailing down to the fouthern fide of the lake, after a diftance, by their estimate, of about fourteen leagues, they landed and concealed their canoes in a thicket near the shore. Taking their arms, they proceeded along the lake fome ten miles, through a country diversified with meadows, brooks, ponds, and beautiful forests filled with plenty of wild game, when they ftruck inland, apparently at the mouth of Little Salmon River. Advancing in a foutherly direction, along the course of this stream, they crossed Oneida River, an outlet of the lake of the fame name. When within about ten miles of the fort which they intended to capture, they met a fmall party of favages, men, women, and children, bound on a fishing excursion. Although unarmed, nevertheless, according to their custom, they took them all prisoners of war, and began to inflict the usual tortures, but this was dropped on Champlain's indignant interference. The next day, on the 10th of October, they reached the great fortress of the Iroquois, after a journey of four days from their landing, a diftance loosely estimated at from twenty-five to thirty leagues. Here they found the Iroquois in their fields, industriously gathering in their autumnal harvest of corn and squashes. A skirmish ensued, in which several were wounded on both fides.

The fort, a drawing of which has been left us by Champlain, was fituated a few miles fouth of the eastern terminus of Oneida Lake, on a small stream that winds its way in a northwesterly direction, and finally loses itself in the same body of water. This rude military structure was hexagonal in form, one of its sides bordering immediately upon a small pond, while four of the other laterals, two on the right

right and two on the left, were washed by a channel of water flowing along their bases.<sup>83</sup> The side opposite the pond alone had

88 There has naturally been fome difficulty in fixing fatisfactorily the fite of the Iroquois fort attacked by Cham-

plain and his allies.

The fources of information on which we are to rely in identifying the fite of this fort are in general the same that we refort to in fixing any locality mentioned in his explorations, and are to be found in Champlain's journal of this expedition, the map contained in what is commonly called his edition of 1632, and the engraved picture of the fort executed by Champlain himfelf, which was published in connection with his journal. The information thus obtained is to be confidered in connection with the natural features of the country through which the expedition paffed, with fuch allowance for inexactness as the history, nature, and circumstances of the evidence render necessary.

The map of 1632 is only at best an outline, drafted on a very small scale, and without any exact measurements or actual surveys. It pictures general features, and in connection with the journal may be of great service.

Champlain's distances, as given in his journal, are estimates made under circumstances in which accuracy was fcarcely possible. He was journeying along the border of lakes and over the face of the country, in company with fome hundreds of wild favages, hunting and fishing by the way, marching in an irregular and defultory manner, and his statements of distances are wifely accompanied by very wide margins, and are of little fervice, taken alone, in fixing the fite of an Indian town. But when natural features, not fubject to change, are described, we can easily comprehend the meaning of the text.

The engraving of the fort may or may not have been sketched by Champlain on the spot: parts of it may have been and doubtless were supplied by memory, and it is decisive authority, not in its minor, but in its general features.

With these observations, we are prepared to examine the evidence that points to the site of the Iroquois fort.

When the expedition, emerging from Quinté Bay, arrived at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, at the point where the lake ends and the River St. Lawrence begins, they croffed over the lake, paffing large and beautiful islands. Some of these islands will be found laid down on the map of 1632. They then proceeded, a diftance, according to their estimation, of about fourteen leagues, to the fouthern fide of Lake Ontario, where they landed and concealed their canoes. The distance to the fouthern side of the lake is too indefinitely stated, even if we knew at what precise point the meafurement began, to enable us to fix the exact place of the landing.

They marched along the fandy shore about four leagues, and then struck inland. If we turn to the map of 1632, on which a line is drawn to rudely reprefent their course, we shall see that on ftriking inland they proceeded along the banks of a fmall river to which feveral fmall lakes or ponds are tributary. Little Salmon River being fed by numerous fmall ponds or lakes may well be the ftream figured by Champlain. The text fays they discovered an excellent country along the lake before they ftruck inland, with fine forest-trees, especially the chestnut, with abundance of vines. For feveral miles along Lake Ontario on the north-east of Little Salmon River the country answers to this description. \_Vide

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had an unobstructed land approach. As an Indian military work, it was of great strength. It was made of the trunks of trees,

-Vide MS. Letters of the Rev. James Cross, D.D., LL.D, and of S. D. Smith,

Efq., of Mexico, N.Y. The text fays they continued their courfe about twenty-five or thirty leagues. This again is indefinite, allowing a margin of twelve or fifteen miles; but the text also says they croffed a river flowing from a lake in which were certain beautiful iflands, and moreover that the river fo croffed discharged into Lake Ontario. The lake here referred to must be the Oneida, since that is the only one in the region which contains any islands whatever, and therefore the river they croffed must be the Oneida River, flowing from the lake of the fame name into Lake Ontario.

Soon after they croffed Oneida River, they met a band of favages who were going fishing, whom they made prisoners. This occurred, the text informs us, when they were about four leagues from the fort. They were now fomewhere fouth of Oneida Lake. If we confult the map of 1632, we shall find represented on it an expanse of water from which a stream is represented as flowing into Lake Ontario, and which is clearly Oneida Lake, and fouth of this lake a stream is represented as flowing from the east in a northwesterly direction and entering this lake towards its western extremity, which must be Chittenango Creek or one of its branches. A fort or enclosed village is also figured on the map, of fuch huge dimensions that it fubtends the angle formed by the creek and the lake, and appears to rest upon both. It is plain, however, from the text that the fort does not rest upon Oneida Lake; we may infer therefore that it rested upon the creek figured on the map, which from its courfe, as we have already feen, is clearly intended to represent Chittenango Creek or one of its branches. A note explanatory of the map informs us that this is the village where Champlain went to war against the "Antouhonorons," that is to fay, the Iroquois. The text informs us that the fort was on a pond, which furnished a perpetual fupply of water. We therefore look for the site of the ancient fort on some small body of water connected with Chittenango Creek.

If we examine Champlain's engraved reprefentation of the fort, we shall see that it is situated on a peninfula, that one side rests on a pond, and that two streams pass it, one on the right and one on the left, and that one side only has an unobstructed land-approach. These channels of water coursing along the sides are such marked characteristics of the fort as represented by Champlain, that they must be regarded as important features in the identification of its ancient site.

On Nichols's Pond, near the northeastern limit of the township of Fenner in Madison County, N.Y., the site of an Indian fort was some years since difcovered, identified as fuch by broken bits of pottery and stone implements, fuch as are usually found in localities of this fort. It is fituated on a peculiarly formed peninfula, its northern fide resting on Nichols's Pond, while a fmall stream flowing into the pond forms its western boundary, and an outlet of the pond about thirty-two rods east of the inlet, running in a fouth-easterly direction, forms the eastern limit of the fort. The outlet of this pond, deflecting to the east and then sweeping round to the north, at length finds its way in a winding courfe into Cowashalon Creek, thence

trees, as large as could be conveniently transported. These were fet in the ground, forming four concentric palifades, not more than fix inches apart, thirty feet in height, interlaced and bound together near the top, supporting a gallery of double paling extending around the whole enclosure, proof not only against the flint-headed arrows of the Indian, but against the leaden bullets of the French arguebus. Port-holes were opened along the gallery, through which effective fervice could be done upon affailants by hurling ftones and other miffiles with which they were well provided. Gutters were laid along between the palifades to conduct water to every

into the Chittenango, through which it as the probable fite of the palifaded flows into Oneida Lake, at a point northwest of Nichols's Pond.

If we compare the geographical fituation of Champlain's fort as figured on his map of 1632, particularly with reference to Oneida Lake, we shall observe a remarkable correspondence between it and the fite of the Indian fort at Nichols's Pond. Both are on the fouth of Oneida Lake, and both are on ftreams which flow into that lake by running in a north-westerly direction. Moreover, the fite of the old fort at Nichols's Pond is fituated on a peninfula like that of Champlain; and not only so, but it is on a peninfula formed by a pond on one fide, and by two ftreams of water on two other opposite fides; thus fulfilling in a remarkable degree the conditions contained in Champlain's drawing of the fort.

If the reader has carefully examined and compared the evidences referred to in this note, he will have feen that all the distinguishing circumstances contained in the text of Champlain's journal, on the map of 1632, and in his drawing of the fort, converge to and point out this spot on Nichols's Pond,

Iroquois town attacked by Champlain

We are indebted to General John S. Clark, of Auburn, N.Y., for pointing out and identifying the peninfula at Nichols's Pond as the fite of the Iroquois fort. — Vide Shea's Notes on Champlain's Expedition into Wessern New York in 1615, and the Recent Identification of the Fort, by General John S. Clark, Pennsylvania Magazine of History, Philadelphia, Vol. II. pp. 103-108; also A Lost Point in History, by L. W. Ledyard, Cazenovia Republican, Vol. XXV. No. 47; Champlain's Invalion of Onondaga, by the Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, Baldwinfville Gazette, for June

27, 1879. We are indebted to Orfamus H. Marshall, Esq., of Buffalo, N.Y., for proving the fite of the Iroquois fort to be in the neighborhood of Oneida Lake, and not at a point farther weft as claimed by feveral authors. — Vide Proceedings of the New York Historical Society for 1849, p. 96; Magazine of American History, New York, Vol. I. pp. 1-13, Vol. II. pp. 470-483.

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part of the fortification for extinguishing fire, in case of need.

It was obvious to Champlain that this fort was a complete protection to the Iroquois, unless an opening could be made in its walls. This could not be eafily done by any force which he and his allies had at their command. His only hope was in fetting fire to the palifades on the land fide. This required the diflodgement of the enemy, who were posted in large numbers on the gallery, and the protection of the men in kindling the fire, and shielding it, when kindled, against the extinguishing torrents which could be poured from the water-spouts and gutters of the fort. He consequently ordered two inftruments to be made with which he hoped to overcome these obstacles. One was a wooden tower or frame-work, dignified by Champlain as a cavalier, fomewhat higher than the palifades, on the top of which was an enclosed platform where three or four sharp-shooters could in fecurity clear the gallery, and thus destroy the effective force of the enemy. The other was a large wooden shield, or mantelet, under the protection of which they could in fafety approach and kindle a fire at the base of the fort, and protect the fire thus kindled from being extinguished by water coming from above.

When all was in readiness, two hundred savages bore the framed tower and planted it near the palisades. Three arquebusiers mounted it and poured a deadly fire upon the defenders on the gallery. The battle now began and raged fiercely for three hours, but Champlain strove in vain to carry out any plan of attack. The savages rushed to and fro in a frenzy of excitement, filling the air with their discordant yells,

yells, observing no method and heeding no commands. The wooden shields were not even brought forward, and the burning of the fort was undertaken with so little judgment and skill that the fire was instantly extinguished by the fountains of water let loose by the skilful defenders through the gutters and water-spouts of the fort.

The sharp-shooters on the tower killed and wounded a large number, but nevertheless no effective impression was made upon the fortress. Two chiefs and sisteen men of the allies were wounded, while one was killed, or died of wounds received in a skirmish before the formal attack upon the fort began. After a frantic and desultory sight of three hours, the attacking savages lost their courage and began to clamor for a retreat. No persuasions could induce them to renew the attack.

After lingering four days in vain expectation of the arrival of the allies to whom Brûlé had been fent, the retreat began. Champlain had been wounded in the knee and leg, and was unable to walk. Litters in the form of baskets were fabricated, into which the wounded were packed in a constrained and uncomfortable attitude, and carried on the shoulders of the men. As the task of the carriers was lightened by frequent relays, and, as there was little baggage to impede their progress, the march was rapid. In three days they had reached their canoes, which had remained in the place of their concealment near the shore of the lake, an estimated distance of twenty-sive or thirty leagues from the fort.

Such was the character of a great battle among the contending favages, an undisciplined host, without plan or well-defined

defined purpose, rushing in upon each other in the heat of a sudden frenzy of passion, striking an aimless blow, and following it by a hasty and cowardly retreat. They had, for the time being at least, no ulterior design. They sought and expected no substantial reward of their conflict. The sweetness of personal revenge and the blotting out a few human lives were all they hoped for or cared at this time to attain. The invading party had apparently destroyed more than they had themselves lost, and this was doubtless a suitable reward for the hazards and hardships of the campaign.

The retreating warriors lingered ten days on the shore of Lake Ontario, at the point where they had left their canoes, beguiling the time in preparing for hunting and fifhing excursions, and for their journey to their distant homes. Champlain here took occasion to call the attention of the allies to their promise to conduct him fafely to his home. head of the St. Lawrence as it flows from the Ontario is lefs than two hundred miles from Montreal, a journey by canoes not difficult to make. Champlain defired to return this way, and demanded an efcort. The chiefs were reluctant to grant his request. Masters in the art of making excuses, they saw many infuperable obstacles. In reality, they did not defire to part with him, but wished to avail themselves of his knowledge, counfel, and perfonal aid against their enemies. When one obstacle after another gave way, and when volunteers were found ready to accompany him, no canoes could be spared for the journey. This closed the debate. Champlain was not prepared for the exposure and hardship of a winter among the favages, but there was left to him no choice. He fubmitted as gracefully as he could, and with fuch

fuch patience as necessity made it possible for him to com-

The bark flotilla was at length ready to leave the borders of the present State of New York. According to their ufual cuftom in canoe navigation, they crept along the shore of the Ontario, revifiting an ifland at the eaftern extremity of the lake, not unlikely the fame place where Champlain had stopped to take the latitude a few weeks before. Crossing over from the island to the mainland on the north, they appear to have continued up the Cataraqui Creek east of Kingston, and, after a short portage, entered Loughborough Lake, a sheet of water then renowned as a refort of waterfowl in vast numbers and varieties. Having bagged all they defired, they proceeded inland twenty or thirty miles, to the objective point of their excursion, which was a famous hunting-ground for wild game. Here they constructed a deer-trap, an enclosure into which the unsuspecting animals were beguiled and from which it was impossible for them to escape. Deer-hunting was of all pursuits, if we except war, the most exciting to the Indians. It not only vielded the richest returns to their larder, and supplied more fully other domestic wants, but it possessed the element of fascination, which has always given zest and inspiration to the sportsman.

They lingered here thirty-eight days, during which time they captured one hundred and twenty deer. They purpofely prolonged their stay that the frost might seal up the marshes, ponds, and rivers over which they were to pass. Early in December they began to arrange into convenient packages their peltry and venison, the fat of which was to serve as

butter

butter in their rude huts during the icy months of winter. On the 4th of the month they broke camp and began their weary march, each favage bearing a burden of not lefs than a hundred pounds, while Champlain himfelf carried a package of about twenty. Some of them conftructed rude fledges, on which they eafily dragged their luggage over the ice and fnow. During the progress of the journey, a warm current came sweeping up from the south, melted the ice, flooded the marshes, and for four days the overburdened and weary travellers struggled on, knee-deep in mud and water and slush. Without experience, a lively imagination alone can picture the toil, suffering, and exposure of a journey through the tangled forests and half-submerged bogs and marshes of Canada, in the most inclement season of the year.

At length, on the 23d of December, after nineteen days of excessive toil, they arrived at Cahiagué, the chief town of the Hurons, the rendezvous of the allied tribes, whence they had fet forth on the first of September, nearly four months before, on what may feem to us a bootlefs raid. To the favage warriors, however, it doubtless seemed a different thing. They had been enabled to bring home valuable provisions, which were likely to be important to them when an unfuccefsful hunt might, as it often did, leave them nearly destitute of food. They had loft but a fingle man, and this was lefs than they had anticipated, and, moreover, was the common fortune of war. They had invaded the territory and made their presence felt in the very home of their enemies, and could rejoice in having inflicted upon them more injury than they had themselves received. Though they had not captured

tured or annihilated them, they had done enough to inspire

and fully fustain their own grovelling pride.

To Champlain even, although the expedition had been accompanied by hardship and suffering and some disappointments, it was by no means a failure. He had explored an interesting and important region; he had gone where European seet had never trod, and had seen what European eyes had never seen; he had, moreover, planted the lilies of France in the chief Indian towns, and at all suitable and important points, and these were to be witnesses of possession and ownership in what his exuberant imagination saw as a vast French empire rising into power and opulence in the western world.

It was now the last week in December, and the deep snows and piercing cold rendered it impossible for Champlain or even the allied warriors to continue their journey further. The Algonquins and Nipissings became guests of the Hurons for the winter, encamping within their principal walled town, or perhaps in some neighboring village not far removed.

After the reft of a few days at Cahiagué, where he had been hospitably entertained, Champlain took his departure for Carhagouha, a smaller village, where his friend the Recollect Father, Joseph le Caron, had taken up his abode as the pioneer missionary to the Hurons. It was important for Le Caron to obtain all the information possible, not only of the Hurons, but of all the surrounding tribes, as he contemplated returning to France the next summer to report to his patrons upon the character, extent, and hopefulness of the missionary field which he had been fent out to explore.

Champlain

Champlain was happy to avail himfelf of his company in executing the explorations which he defired to make.

They accordingly fet out together on the 15th of January, and penetrated the trackless and snow-bound forests, and, proceeding in a western direction, after a journey of two days, reached a tribe called *Petuns*, an agricultural people, similar in habits and mode of life to the Hurons. By them they were hospitably received, and a great festival, in which all their neighbors participated, was celebrated in honor of their new guests. Having visited seven or eight of their villages, the explorers pushed forward still surther west, when they came to the settlement of an interesting tribe, which they named *Cheveux-Relevés*, or the "losty haired," an appellation

fuggested by the mode of dressing their hair.

On their return from this expedition, they found, on reaching the encampment of the Nipiffings, who were wintering in the Huron territory, that a difagreement had arifen between the Hurons and their Algonquin guests, which had already affumed a dangerous character. An Iroquois captive taken in the late war had been awarded to the Algonquins, according to the custom of dividing the prisoners among the feveral bands of allies, and, finding him a skilful hunter, they refolved to spare his life, and had actually adopted him as one of their tribe. This had offended the Hurons, who expected he would be put to the usual torture, and they had commissioned one of their number, who had instantly killed the unfortunate prisoner by plunging a knife into his heart. The affaffin, in turn, had been fet upon by the Algonquins and put to death on the spot. The perpetrators of this last act had regretted the occurrence, and had done

done what they could to heal the breach by prefents: but there was, neverthelefs, a fmouldering feeling of hoftility ftill lingering in both parties, which might at any moment break

out into open conflict.

It was obvious to Champlain that a permanent difagreement between these two important allies would be a great calamity to themselves as well as disastrous to his own plans. It was his purpose, therefore, to bring them, if possible, to a cordial pacification. Proceeding cautiously and with great deliberation, he made himfelf acquainted with all the facts of the quarrel, and then called an affembly of both parties and clearly fet before them in all its lights the utter foolishness of allowing a circumstance of really small importance to interfere with an alliance between two great tribes; an alliance necessary to their prosperity, and particularly in the war they were carrying on against their common enemy, the Iroquois. This appeal of Champlain was fo convincing that when the affembly broke up all professed themselves entirely fatisfied, although the Algonquins were heard to mutter their determination never again to winter in the territory of the Hurons, a wife and not unnatural conclusion.

Champlain's conftant intercourse with these tribes for many months in their own homes, his explorations, observations, and inquiries, enabled him to obtain a comprehensive, definite, and minute knowledge of their character, religion, government, and mode of life. As the fruit of these investigations, he prepared in the leisure of the winter an elaborate memoir, replete with discriminating details, which is and must always be an unquestionable authority on the subject of which it treats.

CHAPTER IX.

## CHAPTER IX.

CHAMPLAIN'S RETURN FROM THE HURON COUNTRY AND VOYAGE TO FRANCE.

— THE CONTRACTED VIEWS OF THE COMPANY OF MERCHANTS. — THE PRINCE DE CONDÉ SELLS THE VICEROYALTY TO THE DUKE DE MONTMORENCY. — CHAMPLAIN WITH HIS WIFE RETURNS TO QUEBEC, WHERE HE REMAINS FOUR YEARS. — HAVING REPAIRED THE BUILDINGS AND ERECTED THE FORTRESS OF ST. LOUIS, CHAMPLAIN RETURNS TO FRANCE.

— THE VICEROYALTY TRANSFERRED TO HENRY DE LEVI, AND THE COMPANY OF THE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES ORGANIZED.



BOUT the 20th of May, Champlain, accompanied by the miffionary, Le Caron, efcorted by a delegation of favages, fet out from the Huron capital, in the prefent county of Simcoe, on their return to Quebec. Purfuing the fame

circuitous route by which they had come, they were forty days in reaching the Falls of St. Louis, near Montreal, where they found Pont Gravé, just arrived from France, who, with the rest, was much rejoiced at seeing Champlain, since a rumor had gone abroad that he had perished among the

favages.

The party arrived at Quebec on the 11th of July. A public fervice of thankfgiving was celebrated by the Recollect Fathers for their fafe return. The Huron chief, D'Arontal, with whom Champlain had paffed the winter and who had accompanied him to Quebec, was greatly entertained and delighted with the establishment of the French, the buildings and other accessories of European life, so different from his own, and earnestly requested Champlain to make a settlement at Montreal, that his whole tribe might come and reside

refide near them, fafe under their protection against their Iroquois enemies.

Champlain did not remain at Quebec more than ten days, during which he planned and put in execution the enlargement of their houses and fort, increasing their capacity by at least one third. This he found necessary to do for the greater convenience of the little colony, as well as for the occasional entertainment of strangers. He left for France on the 20th day of July, in company with the Recollect Fathers, Joseph le Caron and Denis Jamay, the commissary of the mission, taking with them specimens of French grain which had been produced near Quebec, to testify to the excellent quality of the soil. They arrived at Honsleur in France on the 10th of September, 1616.

The exploration in the diftant Indian territories which we have just described in the preceding pages was the last made by Champlain. He had plans for the furvey of other regions yet unexplored, but the favorable opportunity did not occur. Henceforth he directed his attention more exclufively than he had hitherto done to the enlargement and ftrengthening of his colonial plantation, without fuch fuccefs, we regret to fay, as his zeal, devotion, and labors fitly deferved. The obstacles that lay in his way were infurmountable. The establishment or factory, we can hardly call it a plantation, at Quebec, was the creature of a company of merchants. They had invefted confiderable fums in shipping, buildings, and in the employment of men, in order to carry on a trade in furs and peltry with the Indians, and they naturally defired remunerative returns. This was the limit of their purpose in making the investment. The corpora-

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tors faw nothing in their organization but a commercial enterprife yielding immediate refults. They were inspired by no generofity, no loyalty, or patriotism that could draw from them a farthing to increase the wealth, power, or aggrandizement of France. Under these circumstances, Champlain flruggled on for years against a current which he could barely direct, but by no means control.

Champlain made voyages to New France both in 1617 and in 1618. In the latter year, among the Indians who came to Quebec for the purpose of trade, appeared Étienne Brulé, the interpreter, who it will be remembered had been defpatched in 1615, when Champlain was among the Hurons, to the Entouhonorons at Carantouan, to induce them to join in the attack of the Iroquois in central New York. During the three years that had intervened, nothing had been heard from him. Brulé related the ftory of his extraordinary adventures, which Champlain has preferved, and which may be found in the report of the voyage of 1618, in Volume III. of this work.84

At Quebec, he met numerous bands of Indians from remote regions,

either for honor or veracity, is not imappears in 1629 to have turned traitor, to have fold himfelf to the English, and to have piloted them up the river in their expedition against Quebec. Whether this conduct, base certainly it was, ought to affect the credibility of his flory, the reader must judge. Champlain undoubtedly believed it when he first related it to him. He Champlain undoubtedly believed it been obtained by Champlain from the when he first related it to him. He Hurons, or the more western tribes probably had no means then or after-which he visited during the winter of wards of testing its truth. In the edition of 1632, Brule's story is omitted.

84 The character of Étienne Brulé, It does not necessarily follow that it was omitted because Champlain came proved by his subsequent conduct. He to discredit the story, since many pasfages contained in his preceding publications are omitted in the edition of 1632, but they are not generally passages of fo much geographical importance as this, if it be true. The map of 1632 indicates the country of the Carantouanais; but this information might have regions, whom he had visited in former years, and who, in fulfilment of their promises, had come to barter their peltry for fuch commodities as fuited their need or fancy, and to renew and strengthen their friendship with the French. By these repeated interviews, and the cordial reception and generous entertainment which he always gave them, the Indians dwelling on the upper waters of the Ottawa, along the borders of Lake Huron, or on the Georgian Bay, formed a strong personal attachment to Champlain, and yearly brought down their sleets of canoes heavily freighted with the valuable furs which they had diligently secured during the preceding winter. His personal influence with them, a power which he exercised with great delicacy, wisdom, and sidelity, contributed largely to the revenues annually obtained by the associated merchants.

But Champlain defired more than this. He was not fatisfied to be the agent and chief manager of a company organized merely for the purpose of trade. He was anxious to elevate the meagre factory at Quebec into the dignity and national importance of a colonial plantation. For this purpose he had tested the soil by numerous experiments, and had, from time to time, forwarded to France specimens of ripened grain to bear testimony to its productive quality. He even laid the fubject before the Council of State, and they gave it their cordial approbation. By these means giving emphasis to his personal appeals, he succeeded at length in extorting from the company a promife to enlarge the eftablishment to eighty persons, with suitable equipments, farming implements, all kinds of feeds and domestic animals, including cattle and sheep. But when the time came, this promife

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promife was not fulfilled. Differences, bickerings, and feuds fprang up in the company. Some wanted one thing, and fome wanted another. Even religion cast in an apple of discord. The Catholics wished to extend the faith of their church into the wilds of Canada, while the Huguenots defired to prevent it, or at least not to promote it by their own contributions. The company, inspired by avarice and a defire to restrict the establishment to a mere trading post, raised an iffue to discredit Champlain. It was gravely proposed that he should devote himself exclusively to exploration, and that the government and trade should henceforth be under the direction and control of Pont Gravé. But Champlain was not a man to be ejected from an official polition by those who had neither the authority to give it to him or the power to take it away. Pont Gravé was his intimate, long-tried, and trusted friend; and, while he regarded him with filial respect and affection, he could not yield, even to him, the rights and honors which had been accorded to him as a recognition, if not a reward, for many years of faithful fervice, which he had rendered under circumstances of personal hardship and danger. The king addressed a letter to the company, in which he directed them to aid Champlain as much as possible in making explorations, in fettling the country, and cultivating the foil, while with their agents in the traffic of peltry there should be no interference. But the spirit of avarice could not be subdued by the mandate of the king. The affociated merchants were still obstinate. Champlain had intended to take his family to Canada that year, but he declined to make the voyage under any implication of a divided authority. The veffel in which he was

to fail departed without him, and Pont Gravé spent the winter in charge of the company's affairs at Quebec.

Champlain, in the mean time, took fuch active measures as feemed neceffary to establish his authority as lieutenant of the viceroy, or governor of New France. He appeared before the Council of State at Tours, and after an elaborate argument and thorough discussion of the whole subject, obtained a decree ordering that he should have the command at Quebec and at all other fettlements in New France, and that the company should abstain from any interference with

him in the discharge of the duties of his office.

The Prince de Condé having recently been liberated from an imprisonment of three years, governed by his natural avarice, was not unwilling to part with his viceroyalty, and early in 1620 transferred it, for the confideration of eleven thousand crowns, or about five hundred and fifty pounds fterling, to his brother-in-law, the Duke de Montmorency, 85 at that time high-admiral of France. The new viceroy appointed Champlain his lieutenant, who immediately prepared to leave for Quebec. But when he arrived at Honfleur, the company, difpleafed at the recent change, again brought forward the old question of the authority which the lieutenant was to exercise in New France. The time for discussion had, however, passed. No further words were now to be wasted.

85 Henry de Montmorency II. was adopted the party of Gaston, the Duke of Orleans, and having excited the

born at Chantilly in 1595, and was beheaded at Toulouse Oct. 30, 1632. He was created admiral at the age of seven-governor to rebellion, he was defeated, teen. He commanded the Dutch fleet and executed as guilty of high treason. at the fiege of Rochelle. He made the He was the last scion of the elder campaigns of 1629 and 1630 in Pied- branch of Montmorency, and his death mont, and was created a marshal of was a fatal blow to the reign of feu-France after the victory of Veillane. He dalism.

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The viceroy fent them a peremptory order to defift from further interferences, or otherwise their ships, already equipped for their yearly trade, would not be permitted to leave port. This message from the high-admiral of France came with authority and had the desired effect.

Early in May, 1620, Champlain failed from Honfleur, accompanied by his wife and feveral Recollect friars, and, after a voyage of two months, arrived at Tadouffac, where he was cordially greeted by his brother-in-law, Euftache Boullé, who was very much aftonished at the arrival of his fifter, and particularly that she was brave enough to encounter the dangers of the ocean and take up her abode in a wilderness at once barren of both the comforts and refinements of European life.

On the 11th of July, Champlain left Tadoussac for Quebec, where he found the whole establishment, after an absence of two years, in a condition of painful neglect and disorder. He was cordially received, and becoming ceremonies were observed to celebrate his arrival. A sermon composed for the occasion was delivered by one of the Recollect Fathers, the commission of the king and that of the viceroy appointing him to the sole command of the colony were publicly read, cannon were discharged, and the little populace, from loyal hearts, loudly vociferated *Vive le Roy!* 

The attention of the lieutenant was at first directed to reftoration and repairs. The roof of the buildings no longer kept out the rain, nor the walls the piercing fury of the winds. The gardens were in a state of ruinous neglect, and the fields poorly and scantily cultivated. But the zeal, energy, and industry of Champlain soon put every thing in

repair,

repair, and gave to the little fettlement the aspect of neatness and thrift. When this was accomplished, he laid the foundations of a fortress, which he called the Fort Saint Louis, fituated on the creft of the rocky elevation in the rear of the fettlement, about a hundred and feventy-two feet above the furface of the river, a position which commanded the whole breadth of the St. Lawrence at that narrow point.

This work, fo necessary for the protection and fafety of the colony, involving as it did fome expense, was by no means fatisfactory to the Company of Affociates.86 Their general fault-finding and chronic discontent led the Duke de Montmorency to adopt heroic measures to filence their complaints. In the spring of 1621, he summarily diffolved the affociation of merchants, which he denominated the "Company of Rouen and St. Malo," and established another in its place. He continued Champlain in the office of lieutenant, but committed all matters relating to trade to William de Caen, a merchant of high standing, and to Emeric de Caen the nephew of the former, a good naval captain. This new and hafty reorganization, arbitrary if not illegal, however important it might feem to the prosperity and fuccefs of the colony, laid upon Champlain new responsibilities and duties at once delicate and difficult to discharge. Though in form suppressed, the company did not yield either its exiftence or its rights. Both the old and the new company were, by their agents, early in New France, clamoring for

86 Among other annoyances which fupplied the Indians with fire-arms and the contraband trade carried on by the unlicenfed Rochellers, who not only carried off quantities of peltry, but even 1632, Sec. Partie, p. 3.

Champlain had to contend against was ammunition. This was illegal, and en-

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their respective interests. De Caen, in behalf of the new, infifted that the lieutenant ought to prohibit all trade with the Indians by the old company, and, moreover, that he ought to feize their property and hold it as fecurity for their unpaid obligations. Champlain, having no written authority for fuch a proceeding, and De Caen declining to produce any, did not approve the measure and declined to act. The threats of De Caen that he would take the matter into his own hands, and feize the veffel of the old company commanded by Pont Gravé and then in port, were fo violent that Champlain thought it prudent to place a body of armed men in his little fort still unfinished, until the fury of the altercation should subfide.87 This decisive measure, and time, the natural emollient of irritated tempers, foon reftored peace to the contending parties, and each was allowed to carry on its trade unmolested by the other. The prudence of Champlain's conduct was fully justified, and the two companies, by mutual confent, were, the next year, confolidated into one.

Champlain remained at Quebec four years before again returning to France. His time was divided between many local enterprises of great importance. His special attention was given to advancing the work on the unfinished fort, in order to provide against incursions of the hostile Iroquois,88 who at one time approached the very walls of Quebec, and attacked unfuccefsfully the guarded house of the Recollects on the St. Charles.89 He undertook the reconstruction of

<sup>87</sup> Vide ed. 1632, Sec. Partie, Chap. III. levoix, Shea's Trans., Vol. II. p. 32.

<sup>89</sup> The house of the Recollects on the 88 Vide Hift. New France, by Char- St. Charles was erected in 1620, and was called the Conuent de Nostre

the buildings of the fettlement from their foundations. The main structure was enlarged to a hundred and eight feet 90 in length, with two wings of fixty feet each, having small towers at the four corners. In front and on the borders of the river a platform was erected, on which were placed cannon, while the whole was furrounded by a ditch spanned by drawbridges.

Having placed every thing at Quebec in as good order as his limited means would permit, and given orders for the completion of the works which he had commenced, leaving Émeric de Caen in command, Champlain determined to return to France with his wife, who, though devoted to a religious life, we may well suppose was not unwilling to exchange the rough, monotonous, and dreary mode of living at Quebec for the more congenial refinements to which she had always been accustomed in her father's family near the court of Louis XIII. He accordingly failed on the 15th of August, and arrived at Dieppe on the 1st of October, 1624. He hastened to St. Germain, and reported to the king and the viceroy what had occurred and what had been done during the four years of his absence.

The interests of the two companies had not been adjusted and they were still in conslict. The Duke de Montmorency about this time negotiated a fale of his vicerovalty to his nephew, Henry de Levi, Duke de Ventadour. This no-

Dame des Anges. The Father Jean d'Olbeau laid the first stone on the 3d of June of that year. — Vide Histoire du Canada par Gabriel Sagard, Paris, 1636, Tross ed., 1866, p. 67; Découvertes et Établissements des Français, vertes et Établissements des Français, dans l'ouest et dans le sud de L'Ame-

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bleman, of a deeply religious cast of mind, had taken holy orders, and his chief purpose in obtaining the viceroyalty was to encourage the planting of Catholic missions in New France. As his spiritual directors were Jesuits, he naturally committed the work to them. Three fathers and two lay brothers of this order were sent to Canada in 1625, and others subsequently joined them. Whatever were the fruits of their labors, many of them perished in their heroic undertaking, manfully suffering the exquisite pains of mutilation and torture.

Champlain was reappointed lieutenant, but remained in France two years, fully occupied with public and private duties, and in frequent confultations with the viceroy as to the best method of advancing the future interests of the colony. On the 15th of April, 1626, with Eustache Boullé, his brotherin-law, who had been named his affiftant or lieutenant, he again failed for Quebec, where he arrived on the 5th of July. He found the colonists in excellent health, but nevertheless approaching the borders of flarvation, having nearly exhausted their provisions. The work that he had laid out to be done on the buildings had been entirely neglected. One important reason for this neglect, was the necessary employment of a large number of the most efficient laborers, for the chief part of the fummer in obtaining forage for their cattle in winter, collecting it at a distance of twenty-five or thirty miles from the fettlement. To obviate this inconvenience, Champlain took an early opportunity to erect a farm-house near the natural meadows at Cape Tourmente, where the cattle could be kept with little attendance, appointing at the fame time an overfeer for the men, and making a weekly visit

visit to this establishment for personal inspection and over-

fight.

The fort, which had been erected on the creft of the rocky height in the rear of the dwelling, was obviously too small for the protection of the whole colony in case of an attack by hostile savages. He consequently took it down and erected another on the same spot, with earthworks on the land side, where alone, with difficulty, it could be approached. He also made extensive repairs upon the store-

house and dwelling.

During the winter of 1626-27, the friendly Indians, the Montagnais, Algonquins, and others gave Champlain much anxiety by unadvifedly entering into an alliance, into which they were enticed by bribes, with a tribe dwelling near the Dutch, in the present State of New York, to affift them against their old enemies, the Iroquois, with whom, however, they had for fome time been at peace. Champlain juftly looked upon this foolish undertaking as hazardous not only to the prosperity of these friendly tribes, but to their very existence. He accordingly fent his brother-in-law to Three Rivers, the rendezvous of the favage warriors, to convince them of their error and avert their purpose. Boullé succeeded in obtaining a delay until all the tribes should be affembled and until the trading veffels should arrive from France. When Émeric de Caen was ready to go to Three Rivers, Champlain urged upon him the great importance of fuppressing this impending conflict with the Iroquois. The efforts of De Caen were, however, ineffectual. He forthwith wrote to Champlain that his prefence was necessary to arrest these hostile proceedings. On his arrival, a grand council em

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was affembled, and Champlain fucceeded, after a full statement of all the evils that must evidently follow, in reversing their decision, and messengers were sent to heal the breach. Some weeks afterward news came that the embaffadors were inhumanly maffacred.

Crimes of a ferious nature were not unfrequently committed against the French by Indians belonging to tribes, with which they were at profound peace. On one occasion two men, who were conducting cattle by land from Cape Tourmente to Quebec, were affaffinated in a cowardly manner. Champlain demanded of the chiefs that they should deliver to him the perpetrators of the crime. They expressed genuine forrow for what had taken place, but were unable to obtain the criminals. At length, after confulting with the miffionary, Le Caron, they offered to prefent to Champlain three young girls as pledges of their good faith, that he might educate them in the religion and manners of the French. The gift was accepted by Champlain, and these favage maidens became exceedingly attached to their foster-father, as we shall see in the sequel.

The end of the year 1627 found the colony, as usual, in a depressed state. As a colony, it had never prospered. The average number composing it had not exceeded about fifty persons. At this time it may have been somewhat more, but did not reach a hundred. A fingle family only appears to have fubfifted by the cultivation of the foil.91 The rest

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to Madame Hébert, whose husband was inhabitants at Quebec in 1624, includ-

Ouebec in 1623, and that belonged Vol. I. p. 163. There were fifty-one at Quebec in 1623, and that belonged the first to attempt to obtain a living by ing men, women, and children. - Vide the cultivation of the foil. - Vide Sa- Champlain, ed. 1632, p. 76.

were fuftained by fupplies fent from France. From the beginning difputes and contentions had prevailed in the corporation. Endless bickerings sprung up between the Huguenots and Catholics, each fenfitive and jealous of their rights.92 All expenditures were the fubject of cenforious criticism. The necessary repairs of the fort, the enlargement and improvement of the buildings from time to time, were too often refifted as unneceffary and extravagant. The company, as a mere trading affociation, was doubtlefs fuccefsful. Large quantities of peltry were annually brought by the Indians for traffic to the Falls of St. Louis, Three Rivers, Quebec, and Tadouffac. The average number of beaverskins annually purchased and transported to France was probably not far from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand, and in a most favorable year it mounted up to twenty-two thousand.93 The large dividends that they were able to make, intimated by Champlain to be not far from forty per centum yearly, were, of courfe, highly fatisfactory to the company. They defired not to impair this characteristic of their enterprife. They had, therefore, a prime motive for not wishing to lay out a fingle unneceffary franc on the establishment.

Caen, to require his failors to chaunt pfalms and fay prayers on board his ship after entering the River St. Lawrence, contrary to the direction of the Viceroy, the Duke de Ventadour. As two thirds of them were Huguenots, it

98 Father Lalemant enumerates the kind of peltry obtained by the French PAnnee 1626, Quebec ed. p. 5.

92 Vide Champlain, ed. 1632, pp. from the Indians, and the amount, as 107, 108, for an account of the attempt follows: "En eschange ils emportent on the part of the Huguenot, Émeric de des peaux d'Orignac, de Loup Ceruier, de Renard, de Loutre, et quelquefois il s'en rencontre de noires, de Martre, de Blaireau et de Rat Musqué, mais principalement de Castor qui est le plus grand de leur gain. On m'a dit que pour vne année ils en auoyent emporté two thirds of them were fragacian was finally agreed that they fhould continue to fay their prayers, but must omit année est de 15000, ou 20000, à vne pistole a piece, ce n'est pas mal allé."— Vide Rélation de la Nouvelle France en

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Their policy was to keep the expenses at the minimum and the net income at the maximum. Under these circumstances, nearly twenty years had elapsed fince the founding of Quebec, and it still possessed only the character of a trading post, and not that of a colonial plantation. This progrefs was fatisfactory neither to Champlain, to the viceroy, nor the council of state. In the view of these several interested parties, the time had come for a radical change in the organization of the company. Cardinal de Richelieu had rifen by his extraordinary ability as a statesman, a short time anterior to this, into fupreme authority, and had affumed the office of grand mafter and chief of the navigation and commerce of France. His fagacious and comprehenfive mind faw clearly the intimate and interdependent relations between these two great national interests and the enlargement and prosperity of the French colonies in America. He lost no time in organizing measures which should bring them into the closest harmony. The company of merchants whose finances had been so skilfully managed by the Caens was by him at once diffolved. A new one was formed, denominated La Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, confisting of a hundred or more members, and commonly known as the Company of the Hundred Affociates. It was under the control and management of Richelieu himfelf. Its members were largely gentlemen in official positions about the court, in Paris, Rouen, and other cities of France. Among them were the Marquis Deffiat, superintendent of finances, Claude de Roquemont, the Commander de Razilly, Captain Charles Daniel, Sébastien Cramoify, the distinguished Paris printer, Louis Houêl, the controller of the falt works in Brouage,

Brouage, Champlain, and others well known in public circles.

The new company had many characteristics which seemed to affure the folid growth and enlargement of the colony. Its authority extended over the whole domain of New France and Florida. It provided in its organization for an actual capital of three hundred thousand livres. It entered into an obligation to fend to Canada in 1628 from two to three hundred artifans of all trades, and within the space of fifteen years to transport four thousand colonists to New France. The colonists were to be wholly supported by the company for three years, and at the expiration of that period were to be affigned as much land as they needed for cultivation. The fettlers were to be native-born Frenchmen, exclusively of the Catholic faith, and no foreigner or Huguenot was to be permitted to enter the country.94 The charter accorded to the company the exclusive control of trade,

iftic of the age. Cardinal Richelieu from them in their religious faith. We and his affociates were not qualified by education or by any tendency of their natures to inaugurate a reformation in would doubtlefs have been more manly and his affociates were not qualified by this direction. The experiment of amalgamating Catholic and Huguenot in the enterprifes of the colony had been did to the Society of the Hundred Affoand bickerings had been inceffant, and subverfive of peace and good neighborhood. Neither party had the spirit of practical toleration as we understand it, and which we regard at the prefent day as a priceless boon. Nor was it underflood anywhere for a long time afterward. Even the Puritans of Massachufetts Bay did not comprehend it, and

took heroic measures to exclude from

94 This exclusiveness was character- their commonwealth those who differed tried but with ill fuccefs. Contentions ciates, rather than to imprison or banish any on charges which all fubfequent generations must pronounce unsustained. -Vide Memoir of the Rev. John Wheel-wright, by Charles H. Bell, Prince So-ciety, ed. 1876, pp. 9-31 et passin; Hutchinson Papers, Prince Society ed., 1865, Vol. I. pp. 79-113. American Criminal Trials, by Peleg W. Chandler, Boston, 1841, Vol. 1. p. 29.

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The organization of the company, having received the formal approbation of Richelieu on the 29th of April, 1627, was ratified by the Council of State on the 6th of May,

1628.

#### CHAPTER X.

THE FAVORABLE PROSPECTS OF THE COMPANY OF NEW FRANCE.—THE ENGLISH INVASION OF CANADA AND THE SURRENDER OF QUEBEC.—CAPTAIN DANIEL PLANTS A FRENCH COLONY NEAR THE GRAND CIBOU.—CHAMPLAIN IN FRANCE, AND THE TERRITORIAL CLAIMS OF THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH STILL UNSETTLED.



HE Company of New France, or of the Hundred Affociates, loft no time in carrying out the purpose of its organization. Even before the ratification of its charter by the council, four armed vessels had been fitted out and had al-

ready failed under the command of Claude de Roquemont, a member of the company, to convoy a fleet of eighteen transports laden with emigrants and stores, together with one hundred and thirty-five pieces of ordnance to fortify their settlements in New France.

The company, thus composed of noblemen, wealthy merchants, and officials of great personal influence, with a large capital, and Cardinal Richelieu, who really controlled and shaped shaped the policy of France at that period, at its head, poffessed so many elements of strength that, in the reasonable judgment of men, fuccess was assured, failure impossible.95

To Champlain, the vision of a great colonial establishment in New France, that had fo long floated before him in the distance, might well seem to be now almost within his grasp.

But disappointment was near at hand. Events were already transpiring which were destined to cast a cloud over these brilliant hopes. A fleet of armed veffels was already croffing the Atlantic, bearing the English flag, with hostile intentions to the fettlements in New France. Here we must pause in our narrative to explain the origin, character, and purpose of this armament, as unexpected to Champlain as it was unwelcome.

The reader must be reminded that no boundaries between the French and English territorial possessions in North America at this time existed. Each of these great nations was putting forth claims fo broad and extensive as to utterly exclude the other. By their refpective charters, grants, and concessions, they recognized no sovereignty or ownership but their own.

Henry IV. of France, made, in 1603, a grant to a favorite nobleman, De Monts, of the territory lying between the fortieth and the forty-fixth degrees of north latitude. James I. of England, three years later, in 1606, granted to the Virginia

For a full statement of the organization and conftitution of the Company of New France, Vide Mercure François, Charlevoix's Hift. New France, Shea's

<sup>95</sup> The affociation was a joint-flock company. Each corporator was bound to pay in three thousand livres; and as there were over a hundred, the quick Tome XIV. pp. 232-267. Vide also capital amounted to over 300,000 livres. - Vide Mercure François, Paris, 1628, Trans. Vol. II. pp. 39-44. Tome XIV. p. 250.

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ginia Companies the territory lying between the thirty-fourth and the forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, covering the whole grant made by the French three years before. Creuxius, a French historian of Canada, writing some years later than this, informs us that New France, that is, the French possession in North America, then embraced the immense territory extending from Florida, or from the thirty-second degree of latitude, to the polar circle, and in longitude from Newsoundland to Lake Huron. It will, therefore, be feen that each nation, the English and the French, claimed at that time sovereignty over the same territory, and over nearly the whole of the continent of North America. Under these circumstances, either of these nations was prepared to avail itself of any savorable opportunity to disposses the other.

The English, however, had, at this period, particular and special reasons for desiring to accomplish this important object. Sir William Alexander, Secretary of State for Scotland at the court of England, had received, in 1621, from James I., a grant, under the name of New Scotland, of a large territory, covering the present province of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and that part of the province of Quebec lying east of a line drawn from the head-waters of the River St. Croix in a northerly direction to the River St. Lawrence. He had affociated with him a large number of Scottish noblemen and merchants, and was taking active measures to establish Scottish colonies on this territory. The French had made a settlement within its limits, which had been broken

<sup>96</sup> Vide Sir William Alexander and American Colonization, Prince Society, Boston, 1873.

broken up and the colony dispersed in 1613, by Captain Samuel Argall, under the authority of Sir Thomas Dale, governor of the colony at Jamestown, Virginia. A defultory and straggling French population was still in occupation, under the nominal governorship of Claude La Tour. Sir William Alexander and his affociates naturally looked for more or less inconvenience and annoyance from the claims of the French. It was, therefore, an object of great personal importance and particularly desired by him, to extinguish all French claims, not only to his own grant, but to the neighboring settlement at Quebec. If this were done, he might be sure of being unmolested in carrying forward his colonial enterprise.

A war had broken out between France and England the year before, for the oftenfible purpose, on the part of the English, of relieving the Huguenots who were shut up in the city of Rochelle, which was beleaguered by the armies of Louis XIII., under the direction of his prime minister, Richelieu, who was resolved to reduce this last stronghold to obedience. The existence of this war offered an opportunity and pretext for dispossessing the French and extinguishing their claims under the rules of war. This object could not be attained in any other way. The French were too deeply rooted to be removed by any less violent or decisive means. No time was, therefore, lost in taking advantage of this opportunity.

Sir William Alexander applied himself to the formation of a company of London merchants who should bear the expense of fitting out an armament that should not only overcome and take possession of the French settlements and sorts

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wherever they should be found, but plant colonies and erect fuitable defences to hold them in the future. The company was speedily organized, confisting of Sir William Alexander, junior, Gervase Kirke, Robert Charlton, William Berkeley, and perhaps others, diftinguished merchants of London.97 Six ships were equipped with a fuitable armament and letters of marque, and despatched on their hostile errand. Capt. David Kirke, afterwards Sir David, was appointed admiral of the fleet, who likewife commanded one of the ships.98 His brothers, Lewis Kirke and Thomas Kirke, were in command of two others. They failed under a royal patent executed in favor of Sir William Alexander, junior, fon of the fecretary, and others, granting exclusive authority to trade, feize, and confiscate French or Spanish ships and destroy the French fettlements on the river and Gulf of St. Lawence and parts adjacent.

Kirke

97 Vide Colonial Papers, Vol. V. 87, III. We do not find the mention of any others as belonging to the Company of Merchant Adventurers to Canada.

98 Sir David Kirke was one of five brothers, the fons of Gervase or Gervais Kirke, a merchant of London, and his wife, Elizabeth Goudon of Dieppe in France. The grandfather of Sir David was Thurston Kirke of Norton, a small town in the northern part of the county of Derby, known as the birthplace of the fculptor Chantrey. This little hamlet had been the home of the Kirkes for feveral generations. Gervafe Kirke had, in 1629, refided in Dieppe for the most of the forty years preceding, and his children were probably born there. Sir David Kirke was married to Sarah, daughter of Sir Joseph Andrews. In early life he was a wine-merchant at Bordeaux and Cognac. He was knighted Paris ed. 1632, p. 257.

by Charles I. in 1633, in recognition of his fervices in taking Quebec. On the 13th of November, 1637, he received a grant of "the whole continent, island, or region called Newfoundland." In 1638, he took up his refidence at Ferryland, Newfoundland, in the house built by Lord Baltimore. He was a friend and correspondent of Archbishop Laud, to whom he wrote, in 1639, "That the ayre of Newfoundland agrees perfectly well with all God's creatures, except Jefuits and fchifmatics." He remained in Newfoundland nearly twenty years, where he died in 1655-56, having experienced many disappointments occa-fioned by his loyalty to Charles I.— Vide Colonial Papers, Vol. IX. No. 76; The First English Conquest of Canada, by Henry Kirke, London, 1871, passin; Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain,

Kirke failed, with a part if not the whole of his fleet, to Annapolis Basin in the Bay of Fundy, and took possession of the desultory French settlement to which we have already referred. He left a Scotch colony there, under the command of Sir William Alexander, junior, as governor. The fleet finally rendezvoused at Tadoussac, capturing all the French fishing barques, boats, and pinnaces which fell in its way on the coast of Nova Scotia, including the Island of Cape Breton.

From Tadouffac, Kirke defpatched a shallop to Quebec, in charge of fix Basque sishermen whom he had recently captured. They were bearers of an official communication from the admiral of the English sleet to Champlain. About the same time he sent up the river, likewise, an armed barque, well manned, which anchored off Cape Tourmente, thirty miles below Quebec, near an outpost which had been established by Champlain for the convenience of forage and pasturage for cattle. Here a squad of men landed, took sour men, a woman, and little girl prisoners, killed such of the cattle as they defired for use and burned the rest in the stables, as likewise two small houses, pillaging and laying waste every thing they could find. Having done this, the barque hastily returned to Tadoussac.

We must now ask the reader to return with us to the little settlement at Quebec. The proceedings which we have just narrated were as yet unknown to Champlain. The summer of 1628 was wearing on, and no supplies had arrived from France. It was obvious that some accident had detained the transports, and they might not arrive at all. His provisions were nearly exhausted. To subsist without a resupply

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was impossible. Each weary day added a new keenness to his anxiety. A winter of destitution, of starvation and death for his little colony of well on towards a hundred persons was the painful picture that now constantly haunted his mind. To avoid this catastrophe, if possible, he ordered a boat to be constructed, to enable him to communicate with the lower waters of the gulf, where he hoped he might obtain provisions from the fishermen on the coast, or transportation for a part or the whole of his colony to France.

On the 9th of July, two men came up from Cape Tourmente to announce that an Indian had brought in the news that fix large ships had entered and were lying at anchor in the harbor of Tadoussac. The same day, not long after, two canoes arrived, in one of which was Foucher, the chief herdsman at Cape Tourmente, who had escaped from his captors, from whom Champlain first learned what had taken place at

that outpost.

Sufficiently affured of the character of the enemy, Champlain haftened to put the unfinished fort in as good condition as possible, appointing to every man in the little garrison his post, so that all might be ready for duty at a moment's warning. On the afternoon of the next day a small sail came into the bay, evidently a stranger, directing its course not through the usual channel, but towards the little River St. Charles. It was too insignificant to cause any alarm. Champlain, however, sent a detachment of arquebusiers to receive it. It proved to be English, and contained the six Basque sissement already referred to, charged by Kirke with despatches for Champlain. They had met the armed barque returning to Tadoussac, and had taken off and brought up with them

the woman and little girl who had been captured the day

before at Cape Tourmente.

The defpatch, written two days before, and bearing date July 8th, 1628, was a courteous invitation to furrender Quebec into the hands of the English, affigning several natural and cogent reasons why it would be for the interest of all parties for them to do fo. Under different circumstances, the reasoning might have had weight; but this English admiral had clearly conceived a very inadequate idea of the character of Champlain, if he supposed he would surrender his post, or even take it into confideration, while the enemy demanding it and his means of enforcing it were at a distance of at least a hundred miles. Champlain submitted the letter to Pont Grave and the other gentlemen of the colony, and we concluded, he adds, that if the English had a defire to see us nearer, they must come to us, and not threaten us from so great a distance.

Champlain returned an answer declining the demand, couched in language of respectful and dignified politeness. It is eafy, however, to detect a tinge of farcasm running through it, fo delicate as not to be offensive, and yet sufficiently obvious to convey a ferene indifference on the part of the French commander as to what the English might think it best to do in the sequel. The tone of the reply, the air of confidence pervading it, led Kirke to believe that the French were in a far better condition to refift than they really were. The English admiral thought it prudent to withdraw. He destroyed all the French fishing vessels and boats at Tadoussac, and proceeded down the gulf, to do the fame along the coaft.

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We have already alluded, in the preceding pages, to De Roquemont, the French admiral, who had been charged by the Company of the Hundred Affociates to convoy a fleet of transports to Canada. Wholly ignorant of the importance of an earlier arrival at Quebec, he appears to have moved leifurely, and was now, with his whole fleet, lying at anchor in the Bay of Gaspé. Hearing that Kirke was in the gulf, he very unwifely prepared to give him battle, and moved out of the bay for that purpose. On the 18th of July the two armaments met. Kirke had fix armed veffels under his command, while De Roquemont had but four. The conflict was unequal. The English vessels were unencumbered and much heavier than those of the French. De Roquemont 99 was foon overpowered and compelled to furrender. His whole fleet of twenty-two veffels, with a hundred and thirty-five pieces of ordnance, together with fupplies and colonists for Quebec, were all taken. Kirke returned to England laden with the rich spoils of his conquest, having practically accomplished, if not what he had intended, nevertheless that which satisfied the avarice of the London merchants under whose auspices the expedition had failed. The capture of Quebec had from the beginning been the objective purpose of Sir William Alexander. The taking of this fleet and the cutting off their fupplies was an important step in this undertaking. The conquest was thereby affured, though not completed.

Champlain,

99 Champlain criticifes with merited les fait estimer, come estat suiuy de feverity the conduct of De Roquemont, rufes, stratagesmes, & d'inventios: pluand closes in the following words: "Le fieurs auec peu ont beaucoup fait, & fe merite d'un bon Capitaine n'est pas sont rêdus glorieux & redoubtables."seulemet au courage, mais il doit estre Vide Les Voyages du Sieur de Chamaccopagné de prudèce, qui est ce qui plain, ed. 1632, part II p. 166.

Champlain, having defpatched his reply to Kirke, naturally fupposed he would soon appear before Quebec to carry out his threat. He awaited this event with great anxiety. About ten days after the messengers had departed, a young Frenchman, named Desdames, arrived in a small boat, having been sent by De Roquemont, the admiral of the new company, to inform Champlain that he was then at Gaspé with a large sleet, bringing colonists, arms, stores, and provisions for the settlement. Desdames also stated that De Roquemont intended to attack the English, and that on his way he had heard the report of cannon, which led him to believe that a conslict had already taken place. Champlain heard nothing more from the lower St. Lawrence until the next May, when an Indian from Tadoussac brought the story of De Roquemont's defeat.

In the mean time, Champlain reforted to every expedient to provide fubfiftence for his famishing colony. Even at the time when the furrender was demanded by the English, they were on daily rations of feven ounces each. The means of obtaining food were exceedingly flender. Fishing could not be profecuted to any extent, for the want of nets, lines, and hooks. Of gunpowder they had lefs than fifty pounds, and a possible attack by treacherous favages rendered it inexpedient to expend it in hunting game. Moreover, they had no falt for curing or preferving the flesh of such wild animals as they chanced to take. The few acres cultivated by the miffionaries and the Hébert family, and the fmall gardens about the fettlement, could yield but little towards fuftaining nearly a hundred persons for the full term of ten months, the shortest period in which they could reasonably expect fupplies

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fupplies from France. A fystem of the utmost economy was inflituted. A few eels were purchased by exchange of beaver-skins from the Indians. Pease were reduced to flour first by mortars and later by hand-mills conftructed for the purpose, and made into a soup to add flavor to other less palatable food. Thus economifing their refources, the winter finally wore away, but when the fpring came, their fcanty means were entirely exhausted. Henceforth their sole reliance was upon the few fish that could be taken from the river, and the edible roots gathered day by day from the fields and forests. An attempt was made to quarter fome of the men upon the friendly Indians, but with little fuccefs. Near the last of June, thirty of the colony, men, women, and children, unwilling to remain longer at Quebec, were despatched to Gaspé, twenty of them to refide there with the Indians, the others to feek a passage to France by some of the foreign fishingveffels on the coast. This detachment was conducted by Eustache Boullé, the brother-in-law of Champlain. The remnant of the little colony, disheartened by the gloomy profpect before them and exhausted by hunger, continued to drag out a miserable existence, gathering sustenance for the wants of each day, without knowing what was to fupply the demands of the next.

On the 19th of July, 1629, three English vessels were seen from the fort at Quebec, distant not more than three miles, approaching under full sail. Their purpose could not be mistaken. Champlain called a council, in which it was decided

<sup>100</sup> On the 13th of March, 1629, leters of marque were iffued to Capt. tons, the "William," 200 tons, the David Kirke, Thomas Kirke, and oth- "George" of London, and the "Jarvis."

cided at once to furrender, but only on good terms; otherwife, to refift to their utmost with such slender means as they had. The little garrison of fixteen men, all his available force, hastened to their posts. A flag of truce soon brought a summons from the brothers, Lewis and Thomas Kirke, couched in courteous language, asking the surrender of the fort and settlement, and promising such honorable and reasonable terms as Champlain himself might dictate.

To this letter Champlain 101 replied that he had not, in his prefent circumstances, the power of resisting their demand, and that on the morrow he would communicate the conditions on which he would deliver up the settlement; but, in the mean time, he must request them to retire beyond cannon-shot, and not attempt to land. On the evening of the same day the articles of capitulation were delivered, which were finally, with very little variation, agreed to by both parties.

The whole establishment at Quebec, with all the movable property belonging to it, was to be surrendered into the hands of the English. The colonists were to be transported to France, nevertheless, by the way of England. The officers were permitted to leave with their arms, clothes, and the peltries belonging to them as personal property. The soldiers were allowed their clothes and a beaver-robe each; the missionaries, their robes and books. This agreement was subsequently ratified at Tadoussac by David Kirke, the admiral of the fleet, on the 19th of August, 1629.

On the 20th of July, Lewis Kirke, vice-admiral, at the head

<sup>101</sup> This correspondence is preserved le Sievr de Champlain, Paris, 1632, pp. by Champlain. — Vide Les Voyages par 215-219.

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head of two hundred armed men,<sup>102</sup> took formal possession of Quebec, in the name of Charles I., the king of England. The English slag was hoisted over the Fort of St. Louis. Drums beat and cannon were discharged in token of the accomplished victory.

The English demeaned themselves with exemplary courtefy and kindness towards their prisoners of war. Champlain was requested to continue to occupy his accustomed quarters until he should leave Quebec; the holy mass was celebrated at his request; and an inventory of what was found in the habitation and fort was prepared and placed in his hand, a document which proved to be of fervice in the fequel. The colonifts were naturally anxious as to the difpofition of their lands and effects; but their fears were quieted when they were all cordially invited to remain in the fet. tlement, affured, moreover, that they should have the same privileges and fecurity of person and property which they had enjoyed from their own government. This generous offer of the English, and their kind and considerate treatment of them, induced the larger part of the colonists to remain.

On the 24th of July, Champlain, exhausted by a year of distressing anxiety and care, and depressed by the adverse proceedings going on about him, embarked on the vessel of Thomas Kirke for Tadoussac, to await the departure of the sleet for England. Before reaching their destination, they encountered a French ship laden with merchandise and supplies, commanded by Émeric de Caen, who was endeavoring to

102 Vide Abstract of the Deposition of endar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-Capt. David Kirke and Others. Cal- 1660, p. 103.

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to reach Quebec for the purpose of trade and obtaining certain peltry and other property flored at that place, belonging to his uncle, William de Caen. A conflict was inevitable. The two veffels met. The ftruggle was fevere, and, for a time, of doubtful refult. At length the French cried for quarter. The combat ceased. De Caen asked permission to fpeak with Champlain. This was accorded by Kirke, who informed him, if another shot were fired, it would be at the peril of his life. Champlain was too old a foldier and too brave a man to be influenced by an appeal to his personal fears. He coolly replied, It will be an eafy matter for you to take my life, as I am in your power, but it would be a difgraceful act, as you would violate your facred promife. I cannot command the men in the ship, or prevent their doing their duty as brave men fhould; and you ought to commend and not blame them.

De Caen's ship was borne as a prize into the harbor of Tadoussac, and passed for the present into the vortex of general confiscation.

Champlain remained at Tadoussac until the fleet was ready to return to England. In the mean time, he was courte-ously entertained by Sir David Kirke. He was, however, greatly pained and disappointed that the admiral was unwilling that he should take with him to France two Indian girls who had been presented to him a year or two before, and whom he had been carefully instructing in religion and manners, and whom he loved as his own daughters. Kirke, however, was inexorable. Neither reason, entreaty, nor the tears of the unhappy maidens could move him. As he could not take them with him, Champlain administered to them such

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confolation as he could, counfelling them to be brave and virtuous, and to continue to fay the prayers that he had taught them. It was a relief to his anxiety at last to be able to obtain from Mr. Couillard, 103 one of the earliest settlers at Quebec, the promise that they should remain in the care of his wife, while the girls, on their part, affured him that they would be as daughters to their new foster-parents until his return to New France.

Quebec having been provisioned and garrifoned, the fleet failed for England about the middle of September, and arrived at Plymouth on the 20th of November. On the 27th, the miffionaries and others who wished to return to France, disembarked at Dover, while Champlain was taken to London, where he arrived on the 29th.

At Plymouth, Kirke learned that a peace between France and England had been concluded on the 24th of the preceding April, nearly three months before Quebec had been taken; confequently, every thing that had been done by this expedition must, sooner or later, be reversed. The articles of peace had provided that all conquests subsequent to the date of that instrument should be restored. It was evident that Quebec, the peltry, and other property taken there, together with the fishing-veffels and others captured in the gulf, must be restored to the French. To Kirke and the Company of London Merchants this was a bitter difappointment. Their expenditures had been large in the first instance; the prizes of the year before, the fleet of the Hundred Affociates which

<sup>108</sup> Couillard. Champlain writes Cou- which remained at Quebec after it was lart. This appears to have been William taken by the English. - Vide Laver-Couillard, the son-in-law of Madame dière's note, Œuvres de Champlain, Hébert and one of the five families Quebec ed. Vol. VI. p. 249.

they had captured, had probably all been abforbed in the outfit of the prefent expedition, comprifing the fix veffels and two pinnaces with which Kirke had failed for the conquest of Quebec. Sir William Alexander had obtained, in the February preceding, from Charles I., a royal charter of THE COUNTRY AND LORDSHIP OF CANADA IN AMERICA. 104 embracing a belt of territory one hundred leagues in width, covering both fides of the St. Lawrence from its mouth to the Pacific Ocean. This charter with the most ample provifions had been obtained in anticipation of the taking of Ouebec, and in order to pave the way for an immediate occupation and fettlement of the country. Thus a plan for the establishment of an English colonial empire on the banks of the St. Lawrence had been deliberately formed, and down to the prefent moment offered every prospect of a brilliant fuccefs. But a cloud had now fwept along the horizon and fuddenly obscured the last ray of hope. The proceeds of their two years of inceffant labor, and the large fums which they had risked in the enterprise, had vanished like a mist in the morning fun. But, as the cause of the English became more desperate, the hopes of the French revived. The losses of the latter were great and disheartening; but they faw, neverthelefs, in the diffance, the long-cherished New France of the past rising once more into renewed strength and beauty.

On his arrival at London, Champlain immediately put himself in communication with Monsieur de Châteauneus, the French ambassador, laid before him the original of the

capitulation,

104 An English translation of this Vide Sir William Alexander and Amercharter from the Latin original was ican Colonization, Prince Society, Bofpublished by the Prince Society in 1873. ton, pp. 239–249.

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capitulation, a map of the country, and fuch other memoirs as were needed to show the superior claims of the French to Quebec on the ground both of discovery and occupation.105 Many questions arose concerning the possession and ownership of the peltry and other property taken by the English, and, during his ftay, Champlain contributed as far as possible to the fettlement of these complications. It is somewhat remarkable that during this time the English pretended to hold him as a prisoner of war, and even attempted to extort a ranfom from him, 106 preffing the matter fo far that Champlain felt compelled to remonstrate against a demand so extraordinary and fo obviously unjust, as he was in no sense a prisoner of war, and likewise to state his inability to pay a ranfom, as his whole eftate in France did not exceed feven hundred pounds sterling.

After having remained a month in London, Champlain was permitted to depart for France, arriving on the last day of December.

At Dieppe he met Captain Daniel, from whom he learned that

105 Champlain published, in 1632, a strength. It contains, probably, the brief argument fetting forth the claims of the French, which he entitles, Abregé des Descovvertures de la Nouvelle France, tant de ce que nous auons descouuert comme ausi les Anglois, depuis les Virgines iusqu'au Freton Dauis. & de cequ'eux & nous pouvons pre-tendre suivant le rapport des Historiens qui en ont descrit, que ie rapporte cy dessous, qui feront iuger à un chacun du tout fans passion. — Vide ed. 1632, p. 290. In this paper he narrates succinctly the early discoveries made both by the French and English navigators, and enforces the doctrine of the fuperior claims of the French with clearness and

fubstance of what Champlain placed at this time in the hands of the French embassador in London.

106 It is difficult to conceive on what ground this ranfom was demanded, fince the whole proceedings of the English against Quebec were illegal, and contrary to the articles of peace which had just been concluded. That fuch a demand was made would be regarded as incredible, did not the fact rest upon documentary evidence of undoubted authority. — Vide Laverdière's citation from State Papers Office, Vol. V. No. 33, Œuvres de Champlain, Quebec ed., Vol. VI. p. 1413.

that Richelieu and the Hundred Affociates had not been unmindful of the preffing wants of their colony at Quebec. Arrangements had been made early in the year 1629 to fend to Champlain fuccor and fupplies, and a fleet had been organized to be conducted thither by the Commander Isaac de Razilly. While preparations were in progrefs, peace was concluded between France and England on the 24th of April. It was, confequently, deemed unneceffary to accompany the transports by an armed force, and thereupon Razilly's orders were countermanded, while Captain Daniel of Dieppe,107 whose fervices had been engaged, was fent forward with four veffels and a barque belonging to the company, to carry supplies to Quebec. A ftorm fcattered his fleet, but the veffel under his immediate command arrived on the coast of the Island of Cape Breton, and anchored on the 18th of September, novo ftylo, in the little harbor of Baleine, fituated about fix miles easterly from the present site of Louisburgh, now famous in the annals of that island. Here he was surprised to find a British settlement. Lord Ochiltrie, better known as Sir James Stuart, a Scottish nobleman, had obtained a grant, through Sir William Alexander, of the Island of Cape Breton, and had, on the 10th of the July preceding, novo ftylo, planted there a colony of fixty perfons, men, women, and children, and had thrown up for their protection a temporary fort. Daniel confidered this an intrusion upon French soil. He accordingly made a bloodless capture of the fortress at

107 Vide Relation dv Voyage fait par le Capitaine Daniel de Dieppe, année Affociates, as Carolvs Daniel, nauticus 1629, Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain, Paris, 1632, p. 271. Captain Daniel was enrolled by Creuxius in the Hundred Affociates.

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Baleine, demolished it, and, failing to the north and sweeping round to the west, entered an estuary which he says the favages called Grand Cibou, 108 where he erected a fort and left a garrifon of forty men, with provisions and all necesfary means of defence. Having fet up the arms of the King of France and those of Cardinal Richelieu, erected a house, chapel, and magazine, and leaving two Jesuit missionaries, the fathers Barthélemy Vimond and Alexander de Vieuxpont, he departed, taking with him the British colonists, forty-two of whom he landed near Falmouth in England, and eighteen, including Lord Ochiltrie, he carried into France. This fettlement at the Bay of St. Anne, or Port Dauphin, accidentally established and inadequately sustained, lingered a few years and finally disappeared.

Having received the above narrative from Captain Daniel, Champlain foon after proceeded to Paris, and laid the whole fubject of the unwarrantable proceedings of the English in

the Great Bras d'Or, feparated from it bou. "Cibou means," fays Mr. J. Hammond Trumball, "fimply river in all eaftern Algonkin languages."—MS. St. Anne's Bay. It took the name of St. Anne's immediately on the planting of Captain Daniel's colony, as Champlain calls it, Phabitation fainted Anne of St. Anne's mediately on the planting of Captain Daniel's colony, as Champlain calls it. Phabitation fainted Anne of Captain Daniel's colony, as Champlain calls it. Cape Breton speaks also of the entree du petit Chibou ou de Labrador. This petit Chibou, according to his description, is identical with what is now known as the Little Bras d'Or, or fmaller paffage to Bras d'Or Lake. It feems probable that the great Cibou of the Indians was applied originally by them to what we now call the Great Bras d'Or, or larger passage to Bras d'Or Lake. It is plain, however, that Captain Daniel and other early writers applied it to an the map is too indefinite to aid us in eftuary or bay a little further west than fixing its exact location.

en l'isle du Cap Breton in his relation of what took place in 1631. - Voyages, ed. 1632, p. 298. A very good description of it by Père Perrault may be found in Fesuit Relations, 1635, Quebec ed. p. 42. — Vide, also, Description de l'Amerique Septentrionale par Monsieur Denys, Paris, 1672, p. 155, where is given an elaborate description of St. Anne's Harbor. Gransibou may be feen on Champlain's map of 1632, but

detail before the king, Cardinal Richelieu, and the Company of New France, and urged the importance of regaining poffession as early as possible of the plantation from which they had been unjustly ejected. The English king did not hesitate at an early day to promife the restoration of Quebec, and, in fact, after fome delay, all places which were occupied by the French at the outbreak of the war. The policy of the English ministers appears, however, to have been to postpone the execution of this promife as long as possible, probably with the hope that fomething might finally occur to render its fulfilment unnecessary. Sir William Alexander, the Earl of Stirling, who had very great influence with Charles I., was particularly opposed to the restoration of the fettlement on the shores of Annapolis Basin. This fell within the limits of the grant made to him in 1621, under the name of New Scotland, and a Scotch colony was now in occupation. He contended that no proper French plantation existed there at the opening of the war, and this was probably true; a few French people were, indeed, living there, but under no recognized, certainly no actual, authority or control of the crown of France, and confequently they were under no obligation to restore it. But Charles I. had given his word that all places taken by the English should be restored as they were before the war, and no argument or perfuafions could change his refolution to fulfil his promife. It was not, however, till after the lapfe of more than two years, owing, chiefly, to the opposition of Sir William Alexander, that the reftoration of Quebec and the plantation on Annapolis Basin was fully assured by the treaty of St. Germain en Laye, bearing date March 29, 1632.

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The reader must be reminded that the text of the treaty just mentioned and numerous contemporary documents show that the reftorations demanded by the French and granted by the English only related to the places occupied by the French before the outbreak of the war, and not to Canada or New France or to any large extent of provincial territory whatever. 109 When the restorations were completed, the boundary lines diffinguishing the English and French possessions in America were still unsettled, the territorial rights of both nations were still undefined, and each continued, as they had done before the war, to claim the fame territory as a part of their respective possessions. Historians, giving to this treaty a fuperficial examination, and not confidering it in connection with contemporary documents, have, from that time to the prefent, fallen into the loofe and unauthorized statement that, by the treaty of St. Germain en Laye, the whole domain of Canada or New France was restored to the French.

Had the treaty of St. Germain en Laye, by which Quebec was reftored to the French, fixed accurately the boundary lines between the two countries, it would probably have faved the expenditure of money and blood, which continued to be demanded from time to time until, after a century and a quarter, the whole of the French possessions were transferred, under the arbitration of war, to the English crown.

# CHAPTER XI.

109 Vide Sir William Alexander and ters, and Tracts relating to the Coloni-American Colonization, Prince Society, zation of New Scotland, Bannatyne 1873, pp. 66–72. — Royal Letters, Char-Club, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 77 et passim.

### CHAPTER XI.

ÉMERIC DE CAEN TAKES POSSESSION OF QUEBEC. — CHAMPLAIN PUBLISHES HIS VOYAGES. - RETURNS TO NEW FRANCE, REPAIRS THE HABITATION. AND ERECTS A CHAPEL. - HIS LETTER TO CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU. -CHAMPLAIN'S DEATH.



N breaking up the fettlement at Quebec, the loffes of the De Caens were confiderable, and it was deemed an act of justice to allow them an opportunity to retrieve them, at least in part; and, to enable them to do this, the monopoly of

the fur-trade in the Gulf of St. Lawrence was granted to them for one year, and, on the retirement of the English, Emeric de Caen, as provifional governor for that period, took formal possession of Quebec on the 13th of July, 1632.

In the mean time, Champlain remained in France, devoting himfelf with characteristic energy to the interests of New France. Befide the valuable counfel and aid which he gave regarding the expedition then fitting out and to be fent to Quebec by the Company of New France, he prepared and carried through the prefs an edition of his Voyages, comprifing extended extracts from what he had already published, and a continuation of the narrative to 1631. He also published in the same volume a Treatise on Navigation, and a Catechifm translated from the French by one of the Fathers into the language of the Montagnais.110

de Iesvs. Traduicte en Langage Cana- one side Indian and the other French.

110 This catechism, bearing the fol- dois, autre que celuy des Montagnars, lowing title, is contained on fifteen pages pour la Conversion des habitans dudit in the ed. of 1632: Doctrine Chresti- pays. Par le R. P. Brebæuf de la mesme enne, dv R. P. Ledesme de la Compagnie Compagnie. It is in double columns,

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On the 23d of March, 1633, having again been commiffioned as governor, Champlain failed from Dieppe with a fleet of three veffels, the "Saint Pierre," the "Saint Jean," and the "Don de Dieu," belonging to the Company of New France, conveying to Quebec a large number of colonifts, together with the Jesuit fathers, Enemond Massé and Jean de Brébeuf. The three vessels entered the harbor of Quebec on the 23d of May. On the announcement of Champlain's arrival, the little colony was all aftir. The cannon at the Fort St. Louis boomed forth their hoarse welcome of his coming. The hearts of all, particularly of those who had remained at Quebec during the occupation of the English, were overflowing with joy. The three years' abfence of their now venerable and venerated governor, and the trials, hardships, and discouragements through which they had in the mean time paffed, had not effaced from their minds the virtues that endeared him to their hearts. memory of his tender folicitude in their behalf, his brave example of endurance in the hour of want and peril, and the fweetness of his parting counsels, came back afresh to awaken in them new pulfations of gratitude. Champlain's heart was touched by his warm reception and the vifible proofs of their love and devotion. This was a bright and happy day in the calendar of the little colony.

Champlain addreffed himfelf with his old zeal and a renewed firength to every interest that promised immediate or future good results. He at once directed the renovation and improvement of the habitation and fort, which, after an occupation of three years by aliens, could not be delayed. He then instituted means, holding councils and creating a new

trading-post,

trading-poft, for winning back the traffic of the allied tribes, which had been of late drawn away by the English, who continued to steal into the waters of the St. Lawrence for that purpose. At an early day after his re-establishment of himself at Quebec, Champlain proceeded to build a memorial chapel in close proximity to the fort which he had erected fome years before on the creft of the rocky eminence that overlooks the harbor. He gave it the appropriate and fignificant name, Notre Dame de Recouvrance, in grateful memory of the recent return of the French to New France." It had long been an ardent defire of Champlain to establish a French fettlement among the Hurons, and to plant a miffion there for the conversion of this favorite tribe to the Christian faith. Two missionaries, De Brébeuf and De Nouë, were now ready for the undertaking. The governor spared no pains to fecure for them a favorable reception, and vigoroufly urged the importance of their mission upon the Hurons affembled at Quebec.112 But at the last, when on the eve of fecuring his purpose, complications arose and so much hostility was displayed by one of the chiefs, that he thought it prudent

that the chapel was erected in 1633, that it was built by Champlain, and that it was called Notre Dame de Recouv-

Nous les menasmes en nostre petite chapelle, qui a commencé ceste année à l'embellir. - Vide Relations des Jésuites.

Quebec ed. 1633, p. 30. La fage conduitte et la prudence de Monfieur de Champlain Gouuerneur de Kebec et du fleuue sainct Laurens, qui nous honore de fa bien-veillance, retenant vn chacun dans fon deuoir, a fait que nos paroles et nos predications

The following extracts will show ayent esté bien receuës, et la Chapelle qu'il a fait dresser proche du fort a l'honneur de nostre Dame, &c. - Idem, 1634,

> La troisiéme, que nous allons habiter cette Autome, la Residence de Nostredame de Recouurance, à Kebec proche

du Fort. — *Idem*, 1635, p. 3.

112 According to Père Le Jeune, from five to feven hundred Hurons had affembled at Quebec in July, 1633, bringing their canoes loaded with merchandife. - Vide Relations des Jésuites, Quebec ed. 1633, p. 34.

prudent to advise its postponement to a more auspicious moment. With these and kindred occupations growing out of the responsibilities of his charge, two years soon passed away.

During the fummer of 1635, Champlain addressed an interesting and important letter to Cardinal de Richelieu, whose authority at that time shaped both the domestic and foreign policy of France. In it the condition and imperative wants of New France are clearly set forth. This document was probably the last that Champlain ever penned, and is, perhaps, the only autograph letter of his now extant. His views of the richness and possible resources of the country, the vast missionary field which it offered, and the policy to be pursued, are so clearly stated that we need offer no apology for giving the following free translation of the letter in these pages. 113

LETTER OF CHAMPLAIN TO CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU.

Monseigneur, — The honor of the commands that I have received from your Eminence has infpired me with greater courage to render to you every possible fervice with all the fidelity and affection that can be defired from a faithful fervant. I shall spare neither my blood nor my life whenever the occasion shall demand them.

There are subjects enough in these regions, if your Eminence, after considering the character of the country, shall desire to extend your authority over them. This territory is more than sifteen hundred leagues in length, lying between the same parallels of latitude as our own France. It

<sup>118</sup> This letter was printed in Œuvres nal is at Paris, in the Archives of Forde Champlain, Quebec ed. Vol. vi. eign Affairs.

Pièces Justificatives, p. 35. The origi-

is watered by one of the finest rivers in the world, into which empty many tributaries more than four hundred leagues in length, beautifying a country inhabited by a vast number of tribes. Some of them are sedentary in their mode of life, possessing, like the Muscovites, towns and villages built of wood; others are nomadic, hunters and sishermen, all longing to welcome the French and religious fathers, that they may be instructed in our faith.

The excellence of this country cannot be too highly eftimated or praifed, both as to the richness of the soil, the diversity of the timber such as we have in France, the abundance of wild animals, game, and sish, which are of extraordinary magnitude. All this invites you, Monseigneur, and makes it seem as if God had created you above all your predecessors to do a work here more pleasing to Him than any that has yet been accomplished.

For thirty years I have frequented this country, and have acquired a thorough knowledge of it, obtained from my own observation and the information given me by the native inhabitants. Monseigneur, I pray you to pardon my zeal, if I say that, after your renown has spread throughout the East, you should end by compelling its recognition in the West.

Expelling the English from Quebec has been a very important beginning, but, nevertheless, fince the treaty of peace between the two crowns, they have returned to carry on trade and annoy us in this river; declaring that it was enjoined upon them to withdraw, but not to remain away, and that they have their king's permission to come for the period of thirty years. But, if your Eminence wills, you can make them feel the power of your authority. This can, further-

more,

more, be extended at your pleafure to him who has come here to bring about a general peace among these peoples, who are at war with a nation holding more than four hundred leagues in fubjection, and who prevent the free use of the rivers and highways. If this peace were made, we should be in complete and eafy enjoyment of our possessions. Once established in the country, we could expel our enemies, both English and Flemings, forcing them to withdraw to the coast, and, by depriving them of trade with the Iroquois, oblige them to abandon the country entirely. It requires but one hundred and twenty men, light-armed for avoiding arrows, by whose aid, together with two or three thousand savage warriors, our allies, we should be, within a year, absolute masters of all these peoples, and, by establishing order among them, promote religious worship and secure an incredible amount of traffic.

The country is rich in mines of copper, iron, fleel, brafs, filver, and other minerals which may be found here.

The cost, Monseigneur, of one hundred and twenty men is a trifling one to his Majesty, the enterprise the most noble that can be imagined.

All for the glory of God, whom I pray with my whole heart to grant you ever-increasing prosperity, and to make me, all my life,

Monseigneur,

Your most humble,
Most faithful, and
Most obedient fervant,

CHAMPLAIN.

AT QUEBEC, IN NEW FRANCE, the 15th of August, 1635.

In

In this letter will be found the key to Champlain's warpolicy with the Iroquois, no where elfe fo fully unfolded.

We shall refer to this subject in the sequel.

Early in October, when the harvest of the year had ripened and been gathered in, and the leaves had faded and fallen, and the earth was mantled in the symbols of general decay, in sympathy with all that surrounded him, in his chamber in the little fort on the crest of the rocky promontory at Quebec, lay the manly form of Champlain, smitten with disease, which was daily breaking down the vigor and strength of his iron constitution. From loving friends he received the ministrations of tender and assiduous care. But his earthly career was near its end. The bowl had been broken at the fountain. Life went on ebbing away from week to week. At the end of two months and a half, on Christmas day, the 25th of December, 1635, his spirit passed to its final rest.

This otherwise joyous festival was thus clouded with a deep forrow. No heart in the little colony was untouched by this event. All had been drawn to Champlain, so many years their chief magistrate and wise counsellor, by a spontaneous and irresistible respect, veneration, and love. It was meet, as it was the universal desire, to crown him, in his burial, with every honor which, in their circumstances, they could bestow. The whole population joined in a mournful procession. His spiritual adviser and friend, Father Charles Lalemant, performed in his behalf the last solemn service of the church. Father Paul Le Jeune pronounced a funeral discourse, reciting his virtues, his sidelity to the king and the Company of New France, his extraordinary love and devo-

tion

tion to the families of the colony, and his last counsels for their continued happiness and welfare.114

When these ceremonies were over, his body was piously and tenderly laid to rest, and soon after a tomb was conftructed for its reception expressly in his honor as the benefactor of New France.115 The place of his burial 116 was within the little chapel fubfequently erected, and which was reverently called La Chapelle de M. de Champlain, in grateful memory of him whose body reposed beneath its sheltering walls.

#### CHAPTER XII.

114 Vide Relations des Fésuites, Ouebec ed. 1636, p. 56. Creuxius, Historia Canadensis, pp. 183-4.

115 Monsieur le Gouverneur, qui estimoit sa vertu, desira qu'il fust enterré prés du corps de feu Monfieur de Champlain, qui est dans vn sepulchre particulier, erigé exprés pour honorer la memoire de ce fignalé personnage qui a tant obligé la Nouuelle France. — Vide Relations des Fésuites, Quebec ed. 1643,

p. 3.
116 The exact fpot where Champlain was buried is at this time unknown. Historians and antiquaries have been much interested in its discovery. In 1866, the Abbés Laverdière and Cafgrain were encouraged to believe that their fearches had been crowned with fuccefs. They published a statement of their discovery. Their views were con-troverted in several critical pamphlets that followed. In the mean time, additional refearches have been made. The theory then broached that his burial was in the Lower Town, and in the Re-collect chapel built in 1615, has been abandoned. The Abbé Cafgrain, in an able discussion of this subject, in which he cites documents hitherto unpub-

in a tomb within the walls of a chapel erected by his fucceffor in the Upper Town, and that this chapel was fituated fomewhere within the court-yard of the present post-office. Père Le Jeune, who records the death of Champlain in his Relation of 1636, does not mention the place of his burial; but the Père Vimont, in his Relation of 1643, in speaking of the burial of Père Charles Raymbault, fays, the "Governor defired that he should be buried near the body of the late Monsieur de Champlain, which is in a particular tomb erected expressly to honor the memory of that diftinguished personage, who had placed New France under fuch great obligation." In the Parish Register of Notre Dame de Quebec, is the following entry: "The 22d of October (1642), was interred in the Chapel of M. De Champlain the Père Charles Rimbault." It is plain, therefore, that Champlain was buried in what was then commonly known as the Chapel of M. de Champlain. By reference to ancient documents or deeds (one bearing date Feb. 10, 1649, and another 22d April, 1652, and in one of which the Chapel of he cites documents hitherto unpublished, shows that Champlain was buried to a piece of land therein described), the

## CHAPTER XII.

CHAMPLAIN'S RELIGION. — HIS WAR POLICY. — HIS DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE. - CHAMPLAIN AS AN EXPLORER. - HIS LITERARY LABORS. - THE RESULTS OF HIS CAREER.



S Champlain had lived, fo he died, a firm and confiftent member of the Roman church. In harmony with his general character, his religious views were always moderate, never betraying him into excesses, or into any merely partisan zeal. Born

during the profligate, cruel, and perfidious reign of Charles IX., he was, perhaps, too young to be greatly affected by the evils characteristic of that period, the massacre of St. Bartholomew's and the numberless vices that swept along in its train. His youth and early manhood, covering the plastic and formative period, stretched through the reign of Henry III., in which the standards of virtue and religion were little if in any degree improved. Early in the reign of Henry IV., when he had fairly entered upon his manhood, we find him closely

of M. de Champlain was within the which was at a very early period, as no fquare where is fituated the prefent postoffice at Quebec, and, as the tomb of Champlain was within the chapel, it follows that Champlain was buried fomewhere within the post-office square above mentioned.

Excavations in this fquare have been made, but no traces of the walls or foundations of the chapel have been found. In the excavations for cellars of the houses constructed along the fquare, the foundations of the chapel may have been removed. It is possible

Abbé Cafgrain proves that the Chapel that when the chapel was destroyed, reference to its existence is found subfequent to 1649, the body of Champlain and the others buried there may have been removed, and no record made of the removal. The Abbé Cafgrain expresses the hope that other discoveries may hereafter be made that shall place this interesting question beyond all doubt. — Vide Documents Inédits Relatifs au Tombeau de Champlain, par l'Abbé H. R. Casgrain, L'Opinion Publique, Montreal, 4 Nov. 1875.

closely affociated with the moderate party, which encouraged and fustained the broad, generous, and catholic principles of that diftinguished fovereign.

When Champlain became lieutenant-governor of New France, his attention was naturally turned to the religious wants of his diftant domain. Proceeding cautiously, after patient and prolonged inquiry, he felected missionaries who were earnest, zealous, and fully confecrated to their work. And all whom he fubfequently invited into the field were men of character and learning, whose brave endurance of hardship, and manly courage amid numberless perils, shed glory and lustre upon their holy calling.

Champlain's fympathies were always with his miffionaries in their pious labors. Whether the enterprise were the establishment of a mission among the distant Hurons, among the Algonquins on the upper St. Lawrence, or for the enlargement of their accommodations at Quebec, the printing of a catechism in the language of the aborigines, or if the foundations of a college were to be laid for the education of the favages, his heart and hand were ready for the

work.

On the establishment of the Company of New France, or the Hundred Affociates, Protestants were entirely excluded. By its constitution no Huguenots were allowed to fettle within the domain of the company. If this rule was not fuggested by Champlain, it undoubtedly existed by his decided and hearty concurrence. The mingling of Catholics and Huguenots in the early history of the colony had brought with it numberless annoyances. By fifting the wheat before it was fown, it was hoped to get rid of an otherwife inevitable cause

cause of irritation and trouble. The correctness of the principle of Christian toleration was not admitted by the Roman church then any more than it is now. Nor did the Protestants of that period believe in it, or practise it, whenever they possessed the power to do otherwise. Even the Puritans of Maffachufetts Bay held that their charter conferred upon them the right and power of exclusion. It was not eafy, it is true, to carry out this view by fquare legal enactment without coming into conflict with the laws of England; but they were adroit and skilful, endowed with a marvellous talent for finding fome indirect method of laying a heavy hand upon Friend or Churchman, or the more independent thinkers among their own numbers, who defired to make their abode within the precincts of the bay. In the earlier years of the colony at Quebec, when Protestant and Catholic were there on equal terms, Champlain's religious affociations led him to fwerve neither to the right hand nor to the left. His administration was characterized by justice, firmness, and gentleness, and was deservedly fatisfactory to all parties.

In his later years, the little colony upon whose welfare and Christian culture he had bestowed so much cheerful labor and anxious thought, became every day more and more dear to his heart. Within the ample folds of his charity were likewise encircled the numerous tribes of savages, spread over the vast domains of New France. He earnestly desired that all of them, far and near, friend and foe, might be instructed in the doctrines of the Christian faith, and brought into willing and loving obedience to the cross.

In its personal application to his own heart, the religion of Champlain was distinguished by a natural and gradual

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progrefs. His warmth, tendernefs, and zeal grew deeper and stronger with advancing years. In his religious life there was a clearly marked seed-time, growth, and ripening for the harvest. After his return to Quebec, during the last three years of his life, his time was especially systematized and appropriated for intellectual and spiritual improvement. Some portion was given every morning by himself and those who constituted his family to a course of historical reading, and in the evening to the memoirs of the saintly dead whose lives he regarded as suitable for the imitation of the living, and each night for himself he devoted more or less time to private meditation and prayer.

Such were the devout habits of Champlain's life in his later years. We are not, therefore, furprifed that the historian of Canada, twenty-five years after his death, should place upon record the following concise but comprehensive

eulogy: -

"His furpassing love of justice, piety, fidelity to God, his king, and the Society of New France, had always been confpicuous. But in his death he gave such illustrious proofs of his goodness as to fill every one with admiration." 117

The reader of these memoirs has doubtless observed with furprise and perhaps with disappointment, the readiness with which Champlain took part in the wars of the savages. On his first visit to the valley of the St. Lawrence, he found the Indians dwelling on the northern shores of the river and the lakes engaged in a deadly warfare with those on the southern, the Iroquois tribes occupying the northern limits of the present

117 Vide Creuxius, Historia Canadensis, pp. 183, 184.

prefent State of New York, generally known as the Five Nations. The hoftile relations between these favages were not of recent date. They reached back to a very early but indefinite period. They may have existed for several centuries. When Champlain planted his colony at Quebec, in 1608, he at once entered into friendly relations with all the tribes which were his immediate neighbors. This was eminently a fuitable thing to do, and was, moreover, necessary for his fafety and protection.

But a permanent and effective alliance with these tribes carried with it of necessity a folemn assurance of aid against their enemies. This Champlain promptly promifed without hefitation, and the next year he fulfilled his promife by leading them to battle on the shores of Lake Champlain. At all fubfequent periods he regarded himself as committed to aid his allies in their hoftile expeditions against the Iroquois. In his printed journal, he offers no apology for his conduct in this respect, nor does he intimate that his views could be questioned either in morals or found policy. He rarely affigns any reason whatever for engaging in these wars. In one or two inflances he flates that it feemed to him necessary to do fo in order to facilitate the difcoveries which he wished to make, and that he hoped it might in the end be the means of leading the favages to embrace Christianity. But he nowhere enters upon a full discussion of this point. It is enough to fay, in explanation of this filence, that a private journal like that published by Champlain, was not the place in which to foreshadow a policy, especially as it might in the future be fubject to change, and its fuccess might depend upon its being known only to those who had the power to shape and

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direct it. But nevertheless the filence of Champlain has doubtless led some historians to infer that he had no good reasons to give, and unfavorable criticisms have been bestowed upon his conduct by those, who did not understand the circumstances which influenced him, or the motives which controlled his action.

The war-policy of Champlain was undoubtedly very plainly fet forth in his correspondence and interviews with the viceroys and feveral companies under whose authority he acted. But these discussions, whether oral or written, do not appear in general to have been preferved. Fortunately a fingle document of this character is still extant, in which his views are clearly unfolded. In Champlain's remarkable letter to Cardinal de Richelieu, which we have introduced a few pages back, his policy is fully flated. It is undoubtedly the fame that he had acted upon from the beginning, and explains the frankness and readiness with which, first and last, as a faithful ally, he had professed himself willing to aid the friendly tribes in their wars against the Iroquois. The object which he wished to accomplish by this tribal war was, as fully stated in the letter to which we have referred, first, to conquer the Iroquois or Five Nations; to introduce peaceful relations between them and the other furrounding tribes; and, fecondly, to establish a grand alliance of all the savage tribes, far and near, with the French. This could only be done in the order here stated. No peace could be secured from the Iroquois, except by their conquest, the utter breaking down of their power. They were not fusceptible to the influence of reason. They were implacable, and had been brutalized by longinherited habits of cruelty. In the total annihilation of their

power was the only hope of peace. This being accomplished, the furviving remnant would, according to the usual custom among the Indians, readily amalgamate with the victorious tribes, and then a general alliance with the French could be easily secured. This was what Champlain wished to accomplish. The pacification of all the tribes occupying both sides of the St. Lawrence and the chain of northern lakes would place the whole domain of the American continent, or as much of it as it would be desirable to hold, under the easy and absolute control of the French nation.

Such a pacification as this would fecure two objects; objects eminently important, appealing ftrongly to all who defired the aggrandizement of France and the progrefs and fupremacy of the Catholic faith. It would fecure for ever to the French the fur-trade of the Indians, a commerce then important and capable of vast expansion. The chief strength and refources of the favages allied with the French, the Montagnais, Algonquins, and Hurons, were at that period expended in their wars. On the ceffation of hostilities, their whole force would naturally and inevitably be given to the chase. A grand field lay open to them for this exciting occupation. The fur-bearing country embraced not only the region of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, but the vast and unlimited expanse of territory stretching out indefinitely in every direction. The whole northern half of the continent of North America, filled with the most valuable fur-producing mammalia, would be open to the enterprise of the French, and could not fail to pour into their treasury an incredible amount of wealth. This Champlain was far-fighted enough

to fee, and his patriotic zeal led him to defire that France fhould avail herfelf of this opportunity.118

But the conquest of the Iroquois would not only open to France the prospect of exhaustless wealth, but it would render accessible a broad, extensive, and inviting field of missionary labor. It would remove all external and physical obstacles to the speedy transmission and offer of the Christian faith to the numberless tribes that would thus be brought within their reach.

The defire to bring about these two great ulterior purposes, the augmentation of the commerce of France in the full development of the fur-trade, and the gathering into the Catholic church the favage tribes of the wildernefs, explains the readiness with which, from the beginning, Champlain encouraged his Indian allies and took part with them in their wars against the Five Nations. In the very last year of his life, he demanded of Richelieu the requifite military force to carry on this war, reminding him that the cost would be trifling to his Majesty, while the enterprise would be the most noble that could be imagined.

In regard to the domestic and social life of Champlain, fcarcely any documents remain that can throw light upon

118 The justness of Champlain's con- it would yield a net annual income, The Hudson's Bay Company was organized for the purpose of carrying on this trade, under a charter granted by Charles II., in 1670. A part of the trade has at times been conducted by other affociations. But this company is still in active and vigorous operation. Its capital is \$10,000,000. At its reor- little, if in any degree, diminished. ganization in 1863, it was estimated that

ception of the value of the fur-trade has to be divided among the corporators, been verified by its subsequent history. of \$400,000. It employs twelve hundred fervants beside its chief factors. It is eafy to fee what a vast amount of wealth in the shape of furs and peltry has been pouring into the European markets, for more than two hundred years, from this fur-bearing region, and the fources of this wealth are probably

the fubject. Of his parents we have little information beyond that of their respectable calling and standing. He was probably an only child, as no others are on any occafion mentioned or referred to. He married, as we have feen, the daughter of the Secretary of the King's Chamber, and his wife, Hélène Boullé, accompanied him to Canada in 1620, where she remained four years. They do not appear to have had children, as the names of none are found in the records at Quebec, and, at his death, the only claimant as an heir, was a coufin, Marie Cameret, who, in 1639, refided at Rochelle, and whose husband was Jacques Hersant, controller of duties and imposts. After Champlain's decease, his wife, Hélène Boullé, became a novice in an Urfuline convent in the faubourg of St. Jacques in Paris. Subfequently, in 1648, she founded a religious house of the same order in the city of Meaux, contributing for the purpose the sum of twenty thousand livres and some part of the furnishing. She entered the house that she had founded, as a nun, under the name of Sister Helène de St. Augustin, where, as the foundress, certain privileges were granted to her, such as a fuperior quality of food for herfelf, exemption from attendance upon fome of the longer fervices, the reception into the convent, on her recommendation, of a young maiden to be a nun of the choir, with fuch pecuniary affiftance as she might need, and the letters of her brother, the Father Euftache Boullé, were to be exempted from the usual inspection. She died at Meaux, on the 20th day of December, 1654, in the convent which she had founded.119

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119 Vide Documents inédits sur Sa-ravay, archiviste-paléographe, Paris, muel de Champlain, par Étienne Cha-1875.

As an explorer, Champlain was unfurpassed by any who visited the northern coasts of America anterior to its permanent settlement. He was by nature endowed with a love of useful adventure, and for the discovery of new countries he had an insatiable thirst. It began with him as a child, and was fresh and irrepressible in his latest years. Among the arts, he assigned to navigation the highest importance. His broad appreciation of it and his strong attachment to it, are finely stated in his own compact and comprehensive description.

"Of all the most useful and excellent arts, that of navigation has always feemed to me to occupy the first place. For the more hazardous it is, and the more numerous the perils and loffes by which it is attended, fo much the more is it efteemed and exalted above all others, being wholly unfuited to the timid and irrefolute. By this art we obtain a knowledge of different countries, regions, and realms. By it we attract and bring to our own land all kinds of riches; by it the idolatry of paganism is overthrown and Christianity proclaimed throughout all the regions of the earth. This is the art which won my love in my early years, and induced me to expose myself almost all my life to the impetuous waves of the ocean, and led me to explore the coasts of a part of America, especially those of New France, where I have always defired to see the Lily flourish, together with the only religion, catholic, apostolic, and Roman."

In addition to his natural love for discovery, Champlain had a combination of other qualities which rendered his explorations pre-eminently valuable. His interest did not vanish with seeing what was new. It was by no means a

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mere fancy for fimple fight-feeing. Reftlessness and volatility did not belong to his temperament. His investigations were never made as an end, but always as a means. His undertakings in this direction were for the most part shaped and colored by his Christian principle and his patriotic love of France. Sometimes one and sometimes the other was more prominent.

His voyage to the West Indies was undertaken under a twofold impulse. It gratified his love of exploration and brought back rare and valuable information to France. Spain at that time did not open her island-ports to the commerce of the world. She was drawing from them vaft revenues in pearls and the precious metals. It was her policy to keep this whole domain, this rich archipelago, hermetically fealed, and any foreign veffel approached at the risk of capture and confiscation. Champlain could not, therefore, explore this region under a commission from France. He accordingly fought and obtained permission to visit these Spanish possessions under the authority of Spain herself. He entered and perfonally examined all the important ports that furround and encircle the Caribbean Sea, from the pearlbearing Margarita on the fouth, Defeada on the east, to Cuba on the west, together with the city of Mexico, and the Isthmus of Panama on the mainland. As the fruit of these journeyings, he brought back a report minute in description, rich in details, and luminous with illustrations. This little brochure, from the circumstances attendant upon its origin, is unfurpassed in historical importance by any similar or competing document of that period. It must always remain of the highest value as a trustworthy, original authority, without which which it is probable that the hiftory of those islands, for that period, could not be accurately and truthfully written.

Champlain was a pioneer in the exploration of the Atlantic coast of New England and the eastern provinces of Canada. From the Strait of Canfeau, at the northeaftern extremity of Nova Scotia, to the Vineyard Sound, on the fouthern limits of Maffachufetts, he made a thorough furvey of the coast in 1605 and 1606, perfonally examining its most important harbors, bays, and rivers, mounting its headlands, penetrating its forests, carefully observing and elaborately describing its foil, its products, and its native inhabitants. Besides lucid and definite descriptions of the coast, he executed topographical drawings of numerous points of interest along our fhores, as Plymouth harbor, Nauset Bay, Stage Harbor at Chatham, Gloucester Bay, the Bay of Saco, with the long stretch of Old Orchard Beach and its interspersed islands, the mouth of the Kennebec, and as many more on the coast of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. To these he added descriptions, more or less definite, of the harbors of Barnstable, Wellfleet, Boston, of the headland of Cape Anne, Merrimac Bay, the Isles of Shoals, Cape Porpoife, Richmond's Island, Mount Defert, Isle Haute, Seguin, and the numberless other islands that adorn the exquisite sea-coast of Maine, as jewels that add a new lustre to the beauty of a peerless goddess.

Other navigators had coasted along our shores. Some of them had touched at single points, of which they made meagre and unsatisfactory surveys. Gosnold had, in 1602, discovered Savage Rock, but it was so indefinitely located and described that it cannot even at this day be identified. Resolving folving to make a fettlement on one of the barren islands forming the group named in honor of Queen Elizabeth and still bearing her name, after some weeks spent in erecting a storehouse, and in collecting a cargo of "furrs, skyns, saxafras, and other commodities," the project of a settlement was abandoned and he returned to England, leaving, however, two permanent memorials of his voyage, in the names which he gave respectively to Martha's Vineyard and to the headland of Cape Cod.

Captain Martin Pring came to our shores in 1603, in search of a cargo of fassafras. There are indications that he entered the Penobscot. He afterward paid his respects to Savage Rock, the undefined *bonanza* of his predecessor. He soon found his desired cargo on the Vineyard Islands, and hastily

returned to England.

Captain George Weymouth, in 1605, was on the coast of Maine concurrently, or nearly so, with Champlain, where he passed a month, explored a river, set up a cross, and took possession of the country in the name of the king. But where these transactions took place is still in dispute, so indefinitely does his journalist describe them.

Captain John Smith, eight years later than Champlain, furveyed the coast of New England while his men were collecting a cargo of surs and fish. He wrote a description of it from memory, part or all of it while a prisoner on board a French ship of war off Fayall, and executed a map, both valuable, but nevertheless exceedingly indefinite and general in their character.

These flying visits to our shores were not unimportant, and must not be undervalued. They were necessary steps in

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the progress of the grand historical events that followed. But they were meagre and hasty and superficial, when compared to the careful, deliberate, extensive, and thorough, not to say exhausting explanations and has Clause to say exhausting explanations.

to fay exhaustive, explorations made by Champlain.

In the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Cartier had preceded Champlain by a period of more than fixty years. During this long, dreary half-century the stillness of the primeval forest had not been diffurbed by the woodman's axe. When Champlain's eyes fell upon it, it was still the same wild, unfrequented, unredeemed region that it had been to its first discoverer. The rivers, bays, and islands described by Cartier were identified by Champlain, and the names they had already received were permanently fixed by his added authority. The whole gulf and river were re-examined and described anew in his journal. The exploration of the Richelieu and of Lake Champlain was pushed into the interior three hundred miles from his base at Quebec. It reached into a wilderness and along gentle waters never before seen by any civilized race. It was at once fascinating and hazardous, environed as it was by vigilant and ferocious favages, who guarded its gates with the fleepless watchfulness of the fabled Cerberus.

The courage, endurance, and heroism of Champlain were tested in the still greater exploration of 1615. It extended from Montreal, the whole length of the Ottawa, to Lake Nipissing, the Georgian Bay, Simcoe, the system of small lakes on the south, across the Ontario, and finally ending in the interior of the State of New York, a journey through tangled forests and broken water-courses of more than a thousand miles, occupying nearly a year, executed in the

face of phyfical fuffering and hardship before which a nature less intrepid and determined, less loyal to his great purpose, less generous and unselfish, would have yielded at the outset. These journeys into the interior, along the courses of navigable rivers and lakes, and through the primitive forests, laid open to the knowledge of the French a domain vast and indefinite in extent, on which an empire broader and far richer in resources than the old Gallic France might have been successfully reared.

The perfonal explorations of Champlain in the West Indies, on the Atlantic coast, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in the State of New York and of Vermont, and among the lakes in Canada and those that divide the Dominion from the United States, including the full, explicit, and detailed journals which he wrote concerning them, place Champlain undeniably not merely in the front rank, but at the head of the long lift of explorers and navigators, who early visited

this part of the continent of North America.

Champlain's literary labors are interesting and important. They were not professional, but incidental, and the natural outgrowth of the career to which he devoted his life. He had the fagacity to see that the fields which he entered as an explorer were new and important, that the aspect of every thing which he then saw would, under the influence and progress of civilization, soon be changed, and that it was historically important that a portrait sketched by an eyewitness should be handed down to other generations. It was likewise necessary for the immediate and successful planting of colonies, that those who engaged in the undertaking should have before them full information of all the conditions

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conditions on which they were to build their hopes of final fuccefs.

Inspired by fuch motives as these, Champlain wrote out an accurate journal of the events that transpired about him, of what he perfonally faw, and of the observations of others, authenticated by the best tests which, under the circumstances, he was able to apply. His natural endowments for this work were of the highest order. As an observer he was sagacious, difcriminating, and careful. His judgment was cool, comprehenfive, and judicious. His ftyle is in general clear, logical, and compact. His acquired ability was not, however, extraordinary. He was a fcholar neither by education nor by profession. His life was too full of active duties, or too remote from the centres of knowledge for acquisitions in the departments of elegant and refined learning. The period in which he lived was little diftinguished for literary culture. A more brilliant day was approaching, but it had not yet appeared. The French language was still crude and unpolished. It had not been disciplined and moulded into the excellence to which it foon after arose in the reign of Louis XIV. We cannot in reason look for a grace, refinement, and flexibility which the French language had not at that time generally attained. But it is easy to see under the rude, antique, and now obfolete forms which characterize Champlain's narratives, the elements of a style which, under early discipline, nicer culture, and a richer vocabulary, might have made it a model for all times. There are, here and there, fome involved, unfinished, and obscure passages, which seem, indeed, to be the offspring of hafte, or perhaps of careless and inadequate proof-reading. But in general his style is with-26

out ornament, fimple, dignified, concife, and clear. While he was not a diffusive writer, his works are by no means limited in extent, as they occupy in the late erudite Laverdière's edition, fix quarto volumes, containing fourteen hundred pages. In them are three large maps, delineating the whole northeastern part of the continent, executed with great care and labor by his own hand, together with numerous local drawings, picturing not only bays and harbors, Indian canoes, wigwams, and fortreffes, but feveral battle fcenes, conveying a clear idea, not possible by a mere verbal description, of the favage implements and mode of warfare. 120 His works include, likewife, a treatife on navigation, full of excellent fuggestions to the practical seaman of that day, drawn from his own experience, ftretching over a period of more than forty years.

The Voyages of Champlain, as an authority, must always stand in the front rank. In trustworthiness, in richness and fullness of detail, they have no competitor in the field of which they treat. His observations upon the character, manners, customs, habits, and utenfils of the aborigines, were made before they were modified or influenced in their mode of life by European civilization. The intercourse of the ftrolling fur-trader and fishermen with them was so infrequent and brief at that early period, that it made upon them little or no impression. Champlain consequently pictures the Indian in his original, primeval fimplicity. This will always

120 The later sketches made by Cham- accurate, but some of them are skilfully plain are greatly superior to those which done, and not only do no discredit to an he executed to illustrate his voyage in amateur, but discover marks of artistic the West Indies. They are not only taste and skill.

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always give to his narratives, in the eye of the historian, the ethnologist, and the antiquary, a peculiar and pre-eminent importance. The result of personal observation, eminently truthful and accurate, their testimony must in all suture time be incomparably the best that can be obtained relating to the aborigines on this part of the American continent.

In completing this memoir, the reader can hardly fail to be impressed, not to say disappointed, by the fact that results apparently infignificant should thus far have followed a life of able, honeft, unfelfish, heroic labor. The colony was still fmall in numbers, the acres fubdued and brought into cultivation were few, and the aggregate yearly products were meagre. But it is to be observed that the productiveness of capital and labor and talent, two hundred and feventy years ago, cannot well be compared with the standards of to-day. Moreover, the refults of Champlain's career are infignificant rather in appearance than in reality. The work which he did was in laying foundations, while the fuperstructure was to be reared in other years and by other hands. The palace or temple, by its lofty and majestic proportions, attracts the eye and gratifies the taste; but its unseen foundations, with their nicely adjusted arches, without which the superstructure would crumble to atoms, are not lefs the refult of the profound knowledge and practical wifdom of the architect. The explorations made by Champlain early and late, the organization and planting of his colonies, the refistance of avaricious corporations, the holding of numerous favage tribes in friendly alliance, the daily administration of the affairs of the colony, of the favages, and of the corporation in France, to

the eminent fatisfaction of all generous and noble-minded patrons, and this for a period of more than thirty years, are proofs of an extraordinary combination of mental and moral qualities. Without impulfiveness, his warm and tender sympathies imparted to him an unusual power and influence over other men. He was wise, modest, and judicious in council, prompt, vigorous, and practical in administration, simple and frugal in his mode of life, persistent and unyielding in the execution of his plans, brave and valiant in danger, unfelsish, honest, and conscientious in the discharge of duty. These qualities, rare in combination, were always conspicuous in Champlain, and justly entitle him to the respect and admiration of mankind.





## ANNOTATIONES POSTSCRIPTÆ.

USTACHE BOULLÉ. A brother-in-law of Champlain, who made his first visit to Canada in 1618. He was an active affistant of Champlain, and in 1625 was named his lieutenant.

He continued there until the taking of Quebec by the English in 1629. He subsequently took holy orders.

—Vide Doc. inédits sur Samuel de Champlain, par Étienne Charavay. Paris, 1875, p. 8.

Pont Gravé. The whole career of this diftinguished merchant was closely affociated with Canadian trade. He was in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in the interest of Chauvin, in 1599. He commanded the expedition sent out by De Chaste in 1603, when Champlain made his first exploration of the River St. Lawrence. He was intrusted with the chief management of the trade carried on with the Indians by the various companies and viceroys under Champlain's lieutenancy until the removal of the colony by the English, when his active life was closed by the infirmities of age. He was always a warm and trusted friend of Champlain, who sought his counsel on all occasions of importance.

## 206 Annotationes Postscriptæ.

The Birth of Champlain. All efforts to fix the exact date of his birth have been unfuccefsful. M. De Richemond, author of a Biographie de la Charente Inférieure, inftituted most careful searches, particularly with the hope of finding a record of his baptism. The records of the parish of Brouage extend back only to August 11, 1615. The duplicates, deposited at the office of the civil tribunal of Marennes anterior to this date, were destroyed by fire. — MS. letter of M. De Richemond, Archivist of the Dep. of Charente Inférieure, La Rochelle, July 17, 1875.

MARC LESCARBOT. We have cited the authority of this writer in this work on many occasions. He was born at Vervins, perhaps about 1585. He became an advocate, and a refident of Paris, and, according to Larouffe, died in 1630. He came to America in 1606, and paffed the winter of that year at the French fettlement near the prefent fite of Lower Granville, on the western bank of Annapolis Basin in Nova Scotia. In the fpring of 1607 he croffed the Bay of Fundy, entered the harbor of St. John, N. B., and extended his voyage as far as De Monts's Island in the River St. Croix. He returned to France that fame year, on the breaking up of De Monts's colony. He was the author of the following. works: Histoire de la Nouvelle France, 1609; Les Muses de la Nouvelle France; Tableau de la Suisse, auquel sont décrites les Singularites des Alpes, Paris, 1618; La Chasse aux Anglais dans l'isle de Rhé et au Siège de la Rochelle, et la Réduction de cette Ville en 1628. Paris, 1629.

PLYMOUTH HARBOR. This note will modify our remarks on p. 78, Vol. II. Champlain entered this harbor on the 18th

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18th of July, 1605, and, lingering but a fingle day, failed out of it on the 19th. He named it Port St. Louis, or Port du Cap St. Louis. - Vide antea, pp. 53, 54; Vol. II., pp. 76-78. As the fruit of his brief stay in the harbor of Plymouth, he made an outline sketch of the bay which preserves most of its important features. He delineates what is now called on our Coast Survey maps Long Beach and Duxbury Beach. At the fouthern extremity of the latter is the headland known as the Gurnet. Within the bay he figures two islands, of which he speaks also in the text. These two islands are mentioned in Mourt's Relation, printed in 1622. - Vide Dexter's ed. p. 60. They are also figured on an old map of the date of 1616, found by J. R. Brodhead in the Royal Archives at the Hague; likewife on a map by Lucini, without date, but, as it has Boston on it, it must have been executed after 1630. These maps may be found in Doc. His. of the State of New York, Vol. I.; Documents relating to the Colonial His. of the State of New York, Vol. I., p. 13. The reader will find these islands likewise indicated on the map of William Wood, entitled The South part of New-England, as it is Planted this yeare, 1634. - Vide New England Prospect, Prince Society ed. They appear also on Blaskowitz's "Plan of Plimouth," 1774. - Vide Changes in the Harbor of Plymouth, by Prof. Henry Mitchell, Chief of Physical Hydrography, U. S. Coast Survey, Report of 1876, Appendix No. 9. In the collections of the Mass. Historical Society for 1793, Vol. II., in an article entitled A Topographical Description of Duxborough, but without the author's name, the writer speaks of two pleasant islands within the harbor, and adds that Saquish was joined to the Gurnet

Gurnet by a narrow piece of land, but for feveral years the water had made its way acrofs and *infulated* it.

From the early maps to which we have referred, and the foregoing citations, it appears that there were two islands in the harbor of Plymouth from the time of Champlain till about the beginning of the present century. A careful collation of Champlain's map of the harbor with the recent Coast Survey Charts will render it evident that one of these iflands thus figured by Champlain, and by others later, is Saquish Head; that fince his time a fand-bank has been thrown up and now become permanent, connecting it with the Gurnet by what is now called Saquish Neck. Prof. Mitchell, in the work already cited, reports that there are now four fathoms less of water in the deeper portion of the roadstead than when Champlain explored the harbor in 1605. There must, therefore, have been an enormous deposit of fand to produce this refult, and this accounts for the neck of fand which has been thrown up and become fixed or permanent, now connecting Saquish Head with the Gurnet.

Mount Desert. This island was discovered on the fifth day of September, 1604. Champlain having been comissioned by Sieur De Monts, the Patentee of La Cadie, to make discoveries on the coast southwest of the Saint Croix, left the mouth of that river in a small barque of seventeen or eighteen tons, with twelve sailors and two savages as guides, and anchored the same evening, apparently near Bar Harbor. While here, they explored Frenchman's Bay as far on the north as the Narrows, where Champlain says the distance across to the mainland is not more than a hundred paces.

The next day, on the fixth of the month, they failed two leagues, and came to Otter Creek Cove, which extends up into the island a mile or more, nestling between the spurs of Newport Mountain on the east and Green Mountain on the west. Champlain says this cove is "at the foot of the mountains," which clearly identifies it, as it is the only one in the neighborhood answering to this description. In this cove they discovered several savages, who had come there to hunt beavers and to fish. On a visit to Otter Cove Cliss in June, 1880, we were told by an old fisherman ninety years of age, living on the borders of this cove, and the statement was confirmed by several others, that on the creek at the head of the cove, there was, within his memory, a well-known beaver dam.

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The Indians whose acquaintance Champlain made at this place conducted him among the islands, to the mouth of the Penobscot, and finally up the river, to the fite of the present city of Bangor. It was on this vifit, on the fifth of September, 1604, that Champlain gave the island the name of Montsdeferts. The French generally gave to places names that were fignificant. In this inftance they did not depart from their usual custom. The summits of most of the mountains on this island, then as now, were only rocks, being destitute of trees, and this led Champlain to give its fignificant name, which, in plain English, means the island of the defert, waste, or uncultivatable mountains. If we follow the analogy of the language, either French or English, it should be pronounced with the accent on the penult, Mount Défert, and not on the last fyllable, as we sometimes hear it. This principle cannot be violated without giving to the word a meaning

meaning which, in this connection, would be obvioufly inappropriate and abfurd.

CARTE DE LA NOVVELLE FRANCE, 1632. As the map of 1632 has often been referred to in this work, we have introduced into this volume a heliotype copy. The original was published in the year of its date, but it had been completed before Champlain left Quebec in 1629. The reader will bear in mind that it was made from Champlain's perfonal explorations, and from fuch other information as could be obtained from the meagre fources which existed at that early period, and not from any accurate or fcientific furveys. The information which he obtained from others was derived from more or lefs doubtful fources, coming as it did from fishermen, fur-traders, and the native inhabitants. The two former undoubtedly constructed, from time to time, rude maps of the coast for their own use. From these Champlain probably obtained valuable hints, and he was thus able to fupplement his own knowledge of the regions with which he was least familiar on the Atlantic coast and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Beyond the limits of his personal explorations on the west, his information was wholly derived from the favages. No European had penetrated into those regions, if we except his fervant, Étienne Brûlé, whose descriptions could have been of very little fervice. The deficiencies of Champlain's map are here accordingly most apparent. Rivers and lakes farther west than the Georgian Bay, and south of it, are fometimes laid down where none exist, and, again, where they do exift, none are portrayed. The outline of Lake Huron, for illustration, was entirely misconceived. A river-like

river-like line only of water represents Lake Erie, while Lake Michigan does not appear at all.

The delineation of Hudson's Bay was evidently taken from the Tabula Nautica of Henry Hudson, as we have shown in Nata and Walt Hudson

in Note 297, Vol. II., to which the reader is referred.

It will be observed that there is no recognition on the map of any English settlement within the limits of New England. In 1629, when the Carte de la Novvelle France was completed, an English colony had been planted at Plymouth, Mass., nine years, and another at Piscataqua, or Portsmouth, N. H., fix years. The Rev. William Blaxton had been for feveral years in occupation of the peninfula of Shawmut, or Boston. Salem had also been settled one or two years. These last two may not, it is true, have come to Champlain's knowledge. But none of these settlements are laid down on the map. The reason of these omissions is obvious. The whole territory from at least the 40th degree of north latitude, stretching indefinitely to the north, was claimed by the French. As possession was, at that day, the most potent argument for the justice of a territorial claim, the recognition, on a French map, of these English fettlements, would have been an indifcretion which the wife and prudent Champlain would not be likely to commit.

There is, however, a distinct recognition of an English settlement farther south. Cape Charles and Cape Henry appear at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay. Virginia is inscribed in its proper place, while Jamestown and Point Comfort are referred to be

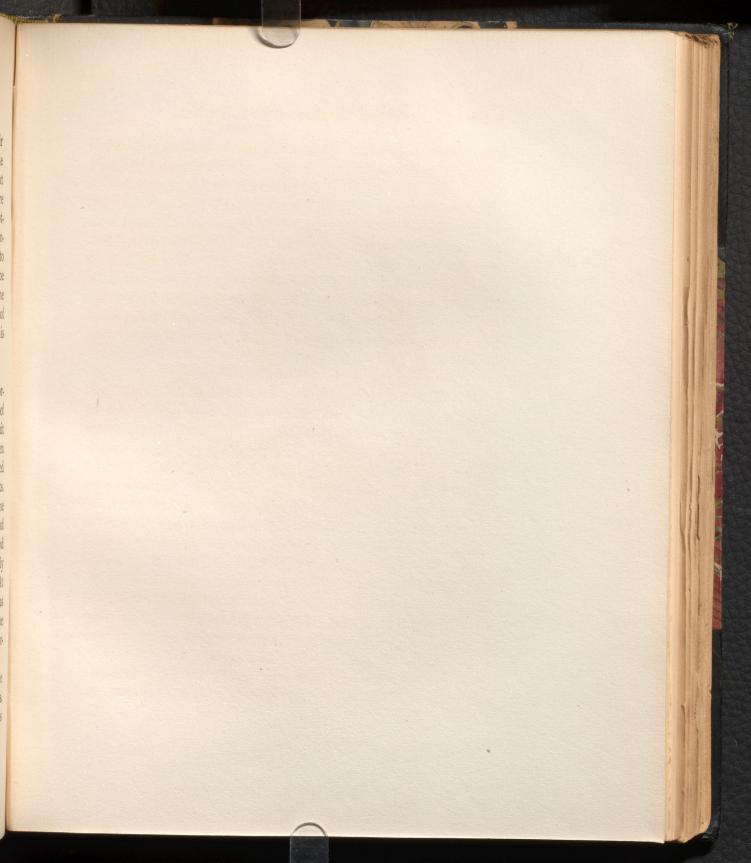
fort are referred to by numbers.

On the borders of the map numerous fish belonging to these waters are figured, together with several vessels of different ferent fizes and in different attitudes, thus preferving their form and ftructure at that period. The degrees of latitude and longitude are numerically indicated, which are convenient for the references found in Champlain's journals, but are neceffarily too inaccurate to be otherwise useful. But notwithstanding its defects, when we take into account the limited means at his command, the difficulties which he had to encounter, the vast region which it covers, this map must be regarded as an extraordinary achievement. It is by far the most accurate in outline, and the most finished in detail, of any that had been attempted of this region anterior to this date.

The Portraits of Champlain. — Three engraved portraits of Champlain have come to our knowledge. All of them appear to have been after an original engraved portrait by Balthazar Moncornet. This artift was born in Rouen about 1615, and died not earlier than 1670. He practifed his art in Paris, where he kept a fhop for the fale of prints. Though not eminently diftinguished as a skilful artist, he nevertheless left many works, particularly a great number of portraits. As he had not arrived at the age of manhood when Champlain died, his engraving of him was probably executed about fifteen or twenty years after that event. At that time Madame Champlain, his widow, was still living, as likewise many of Champlain's intimate friends. From some of them it is probable Moncornet obtained a sketch or portrait, from which his engraving was made.

Of the portraits of Champlain which we have feen, we may mention first that in Laverdière's edition of his works.

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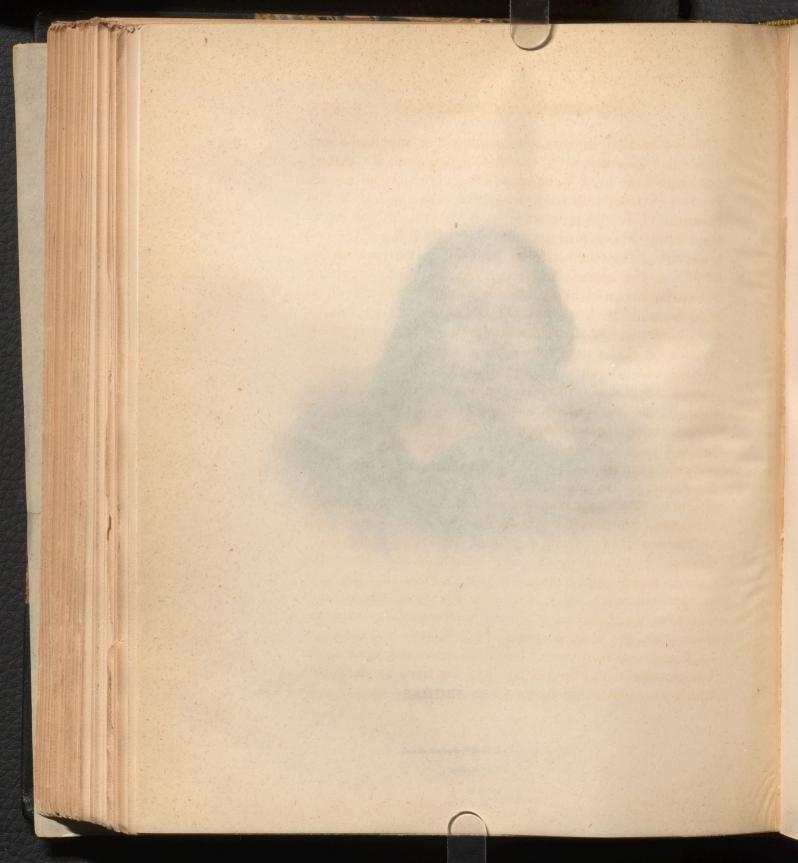




SAMUEL de CHAMPLAIN.

From the Painting by Th Hamel after the Moncarnet Portrait

Copyright by John G. Shea. 1878



This is a half-length, with long, curling hair, mouftache and The fleeves of the close-fitting coat are flashed, imperial. and around the neck is the broad linen collar of the period, fastened in front with cord and tassels. On the left, in the background, is the promontory of Quebec, with the reprefentation of feveral turreted buildings both in the upper and lower town. On the border of the oval, which incloses the fubject, is the legend, Moncornet Ex c. p. The engraving is coarfely executed, apparently on copper. It is alleged to have been taken from an original Moncornet in France. Our inquiries as to where the original then was, or in whose possession it then was or is now, have been unsuccessful. No original, when inquiries were made by Dr. Otis, a short time fince, was found to exist in the department of prints in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Another portrait of Champlain is found in Shea's translation of Charlevoix's History of New France. This was taken from the portrait of Champlain, which, with that of Cartier, Montcalm, Wolfe, and others, adorns the walls of the reception room of the Speaker of the House of Commons, in the Parliament House at Ottawa, in Canada, which was painted by Thomas Hamel, from a copy of Moncornet's engraving obtained in France by the late M. Faribault. From the costume and general features, it appears to be after the same as that contained in Laverdière's edition of Champlain's works, to which we have already referred. The artist has given it a youthful appearance, which suggests that the original sketch was made many years before Champlain's death. We are indebted to the politeness of Dr. Shea for the copies which accompany this work.

## 214 Annotationes Postscriptæ.

A third portrait of Champlain may be found in L'Histoire de France, par M. Guizot, Paris, 1876, Vol. v. p. 149. The infcription reads: "Champlain [Samuel De], d'après un portrait gravé par Moncornet." It is engraved on wood by E. Ronjat, and represents the subject in the advanced years of his life. In position, costume, and accessories it is widely different from the others, and Moncornet must have left more than one engraving of Champlain, or we must conclude that the modern artists have taken extraordinary liberties with their subject. The features are strong, spirited, and characteristic. A heliotype copy accompanies this volume.





## PREFACE TO THE TRANSLATION.



HE journals of Champlain, commonly called his Voyages, were written and published by him at intervals from 1603 to 1632. The first volume was printed in 1603, and entitled,—

I. Des Savvages, ov, Voyage de Samvel Champlain, de Brovage, faict en la France Nouvelle, l'an mil fix cens trois. A Paris, chez Clavde de Monstr'oeil, tenant sa boutique en la Cour du Palais, au nom de fesus. 1604. Auec privilège du Roy. 12mo. 4 preliminary leaves. Text 36 leaves. The title-page contains also a sub-title, enumerating in detail the subjects treated of in the work. Another copy with slight verbal changes has no date on the title-page, but in both the "privilège" is dated November 15, 1603. The copies which we have used are in the Library of Harvard College, and in that of Mrs. John Carter Brown, of Providence, R. I.

An English translation of this issue is contained in Pvr-chas his Pilgrimes. London, 1625, vol. iv., pp. 1605–1619.

The next publication appeared in 1613, with the following title:—

2. Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain Xaintongeois, Capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy, en la marine. Divisez en deux livres. ou, journal tres-fidele des observations faites és descouuertures pages; table 5 pp. One large folding map. One small map. 22 plates. The title-page contains, in addition, a sub-title in regard to the two maps.

The above-mentioned volume contains, also, the Fourth Voyage, bound in at the end, with the following title:—

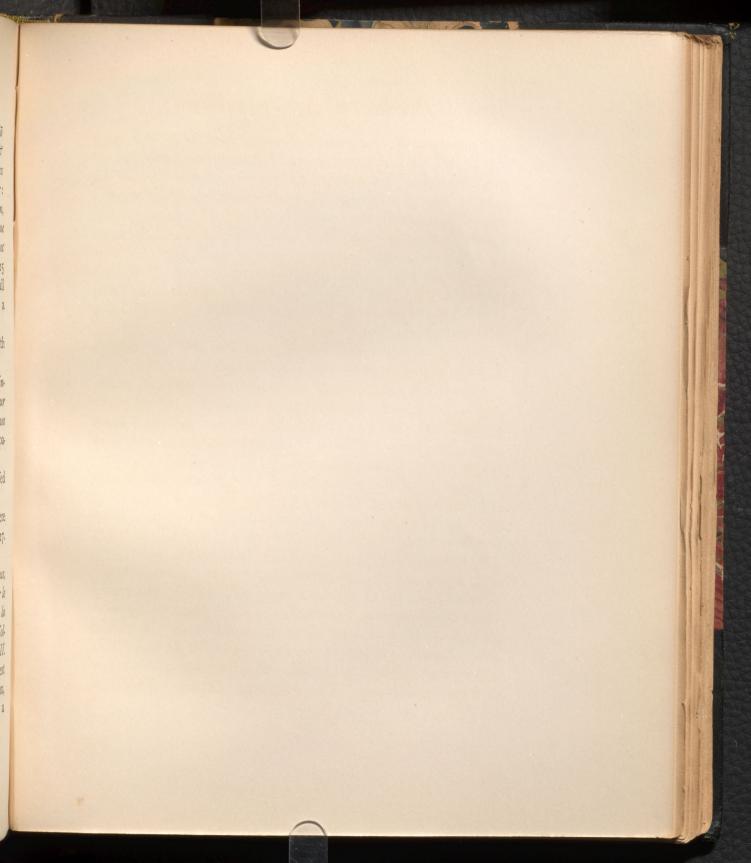
Quatriesme Voyage du S' de Champlain Capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy en la marine, & Lieutenant de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé en la Nouvelle France, fait en l'année 1613. 52 pages. Whether this was also issued as a separate work, we are not informed.

The copy of this publication of 1613 which we have used

is in the Library of Harvard College.

The next publication of Champlain was in 1619. There was a re-iffue of the fame in 1620 and likewise in 1627. The title of the last-mentioned iffue is as follows:—

3. Voyages et Descovvertvres faites en la Novvelle France, depuis l'année 1615. iusques à la fin de l'année 1618. Par le Sieur de Champlain, Cappitaine ordinaire pour le Roy en la Mer du Ponant. Seconde Edition. A Paris, chez Clavde Collet, au Palais, en la gallerie des Prisonniers. M.D.C.XXVII. Avec privilege dv Roy. 12mo. 8 preliminary leaves. Text 158 leaves, 6 plates. The title-page contains, in addition,



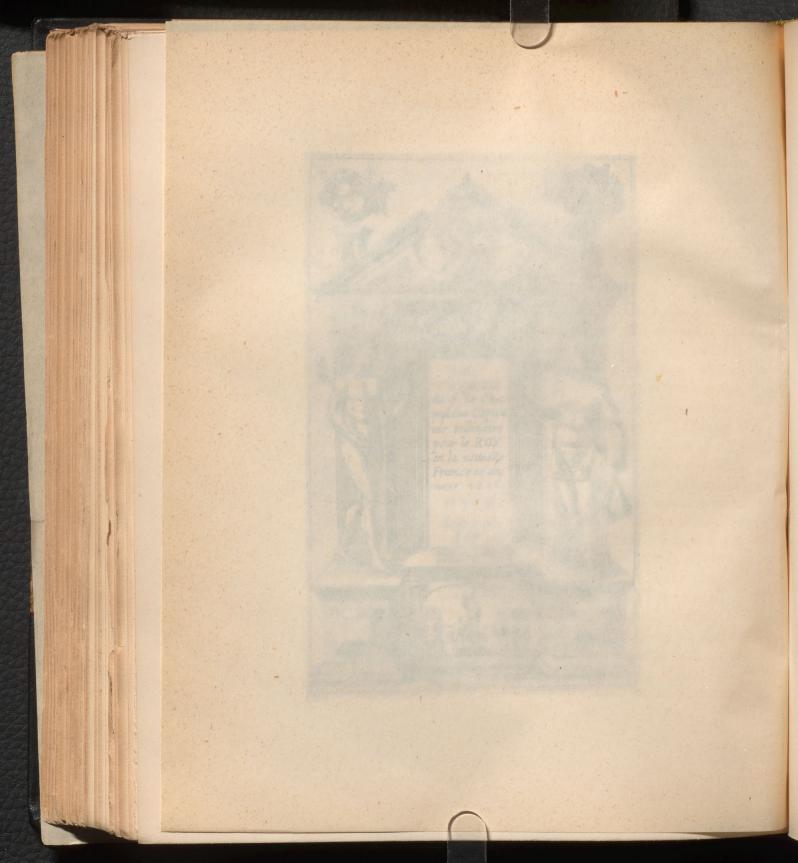


of 1627, belonging to the Library of Harvard College, contains likewise an illuminated title-page, which we here give the heavype. As this illuminated title-page bears the date of 1822, it was probably that of the original edition of that

The rest and last publication of Champlain was iffued in

tans par le S' de Champlaire Xainctongeois, Capacase le Roy en la Marine du Ponant, Et toutes les
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les cases de la faites en la fauthorité de nos Roys trefcases XIII. Roy de Prance Et de Navarre. A Paris. Chez
Clavde Collat au Palais, en la Gallerie des Prifenniers, à
l'Effoille d'Or. M. DC. XXXIII. Auec Prinilège du Roy.
There is also a long sub-title, with a statement that the volume contains what occurred in New France in 1631. The
volume is dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu. 4to, 16 prelimmary pages. Text 308 pages. 6 plates, which are the same
as those in the edition of 1619. "Seconde Partie," 310
pages. One large general map; table explanatory of map,
5 pages. "Traitté de la Marine," 54 pages, 2 plates,
Loctrine Chrestienne" and "L'Oraison Dominicale," 20
pages. Another copy gives the name of Sevestre as publities, and another that of Pierre Le-Myr.

The publication of 1632 is stated by Laverdière to have been relified in 1640, with a new title and date, but without



a fub-title, giving an outline of the contents. The edition of 1627, belonging to the Library of Harvard College, contains likewife an illuminated title-page, which we here give in heliotype. As this illuminated title-page bears the date of 1619, it was probably that of the original edition of that date.

The next and last publication of Champlain was issued in 1632, with the following title:

4. Les Voyages de la Novvelle France occidentale, dicte Canada, faits par le S' de Champlain Xainctongeois, Capitaine pour le Roy en la Marine du Ponant, & toutes les Descouvertes qu'il a faites en ce pais depuis l'an 1603, iusques en l'an 1629. Où se voit comme ce pays a este premierement descouuert par les François, sous l'authorité de nos Roys tres-Chrestiens, iusques au regne de sa Majesté à present regnante Lovis XIII. Roy de France & de Navarre. A Paris. Chez Clavde Collet au Palais, en la Gallerie des Prisonniers, à l'Estoille d'Or. M. DC. XXXII. Auec Privilege du Roy. There is also a long sub-title, with a statement that the volume contains what occurred in New France in 1631. The volume is dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu. 4to. 16 preliminary pages. Text 308 pages. 6 plates, which are the same as those in the edition of 1619. "Seconde Partie," 310 pages. One large general map; table explanatory of map, 8 pages. "Traitté de la Marine," 54 pages. 2 plates. "Doctrine Chrestienne" and "L'Oraison Dominicale," 20 pages. Another copy gives the name of Sevestre as publisher, and another that of Pierre Le-Mvr.

The publication of 1632 is flated by Laverdière to have been reiffued in 1640, with a new title and date, but without further

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further changes. This, however, is not found in the National Library at Paris, which contains all the other editions and iffues. The copies of the edition of 1632 which we have confulted are in the Harvard College Library and in the Boston Athenæum.

It is of importance to refer, as we have done, to the particular copy used, for it appears to have been the custom in the case of books printed as early as the above, to keep the type standing, and print iffues at intervals, sometimes without any change in the title-page or date, and yet with alterations to some extent in the text. For instance, the copy of the publication of 1613 in the Harvard College Library differs from that in Mrs. Brown's Library, at Providence, in minor points, and particularly in reference to some changes in the fmall map. The fame is true of the publication of 1603. The variations are probably in part owing to the lack of uniformity in spelling at that period.

None of Champlain's works had been reprinted until 1830, when there appeared, in two volumes, a reprint of the publication of 1632, "at the expense of the government, in order to give work to printers." Since then there has been published the elaborate work, with extensive annotations, of the

Abbé Laverdière, as follows: -

ŒUVRES DE CHAMPLAIN, PUBLIÉES SOUS LE PATRONAGE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL. PAR L'ABBÉ C. H. LAVERDIÈRE, M. A. SECONDE ÉDITION. 6 TOMES. 4TO. QUÉBEC: IMPRIMÉ AU SÉMINAIRE PAR GEO. E. DESBARATS. 1870.

This contains all the works of Champlain above mentioned, and the text is a faithful reprint from the early Paris editions. It includes, in addition to this, Champlain's narrative of his voyage to the West Indies, in 1598, of which the following is the title: —

Brief Discours des choses plus remarquables que Sammuel Champlain de Brovage a reconneues aux Indes Occidentalles au voiage qu'il en a faict en icelles en l'année mil v 111,2xx. x1x. E en l'année mil v1º 1,1 comme ensuit.

This had never before been published in French, although a translation of it had been issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1859. The MS. is the only one of Champlain's known to exist, excepting a letter to Richelieu, published by Laverdière among the "Pièces Justificatives." When used by Laverdière it was in the possession of M. Féret, of Dieppe, but has since been advertised for sale by the Paris booksellers, Maisonneuve & Co., at the price of 15,000 francs, and is now in the possession of M. Pinart.

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The volume printed in 1632 has been frequently compared with that of 1613, as if the former were merely a fecond edition of the latter. But this conveys an erroneous idea of the relation between the two. In the first place, the volume of 1632 contains what is not given in any of the previous publications of Champlain. That is, it extends his narrative over the period from 1620 to 1632. It likewise goes over the same ground that is covered not only by the volume of 1613, but also by the other still later publications of Champlain, up to 1620. It includes, moreover, a treatise on navigation. In the second place, it is an abridgment, and not a second edition in any proper sense. It omits for the most part personal details and descriptions of the manners and customs of the Indians, so that very much that is effential to the full comprehension of Champlain's work

## 220 Preface to the Translation.

as an observer and explorer is gone. Moreover, there seems to be some internal evidence indicating that this abridgment was not made by Champlain himself, and Laverdière suggests that the work has been tampered with by another hand. Thus, all savorable allusions to the Récollets, to whom Champlain was friendly, are modified or expunged, while the Jesuits are made to appear in a prominent and favorable light. This question has been specially considered by Laverdière in his introduction to the issue of 1632, to which the reader is referred.

The language used by Champlain is effentially the claffic French of the time of Henry IV. The dialect or patois of Saintonge, his native province, was probably understood and spoken by him; but we have not discovered any influence of it in his writings, either in respect to idiom or vocabulary. An occasional appearance at court, and his constant official intercourse with public men of prominence at Paris and elsewhere, rendered necessary strict attention to the language he used.

But though using in general the language of court and literature, he offends not unfrequently against the rules of grammar and logical arrangement. Probably his busy career did not allow him to read, much less study, at least in reference to their style, such masterpieces of literature as the "Essais" of Montaigne, the translations of Amyot, or the "Histoire Universelle" of D'Aubigné. The voyages of Cartier he undoubtedly read; but, although superior in point of literary merit to Champlain's writings, they were by no means without their blemishes, nor were they worthy of being compared with the classical authors to which we have alluded. But Champlain's

Champlain's discourse is so straightforward, and the thought so simple and clear, that the meaning is seldom obscure, and his occasional violations of grammar and looseness of style are quite pardonable in one whose occupations left him little time for correction and revision. Indeed, one rather wonders that the unpretending explorer writes so well. It is the thought, not the words, which occupies his attention. Sometimes, after beginning a period which runs on longer than usual, his interest in what he has to narrate seems so completely to occupy him that he forgets the way in which he commenced, and concludes in a manner not in logical accordance with the beginning. We subjoin a passage or two illustrative of his inadvertencies in respect to language. They are from his narrative of the voyage of 1603, and the text of the Paris edition is followed:

I. "Au dit bout du lac, il y a des peuples qui font cabannez, puis on entre dans trois autres riuieres, quelques trois ou quatre iournees dãs chacune, où au bout defdites riuieres, il y a deux ou trois manieres de lacs, d'où prend la fource du Saguenay." Chap. iv.

2. "Cedit iour rengeant tousiours ladite coste du Nort, iusques à vn lieu où nous relachasmes pour les vents qui nous estoiet contraires, où il y auoit force rochers & lieux fort dangereux, nous seusmes trois iours en attendant le beau temps." Chap. v.

3. "Ce feroit vn grand bien qui pourroit trouuer à la cofte de la Floride quelque paffage qui allast donner proche du fusdit grand lac." Chap. x.

4. "lefquelles [riuieres] vont dans les terres, où le pays y est tres-bon & fertille, & de fort bons ports." Chap. x.

## 222 Preface to the Translation.

5. "Il y a aussi vne autre petite riuiere qui va tomber comme à moitié chemin de celle par où reuint ledict sieur Preuert, où sont comme deux manieres de lacs en ceste-dicte riuiere." Chap. xii.

The following passages are taken at random from the voyages of 1604–10, as illustrative of Champlain's style in general:

1. Explorations in the Bay of Fundy, Voyage of 1604–8. "De la riuiere fainct Iean nous fusmes à quatre isles, en l'vne desquelles nous mismes pied à terre, & y trouuasmes grande quantité d'oiseaux appellez Margos, dont nous prismes force petits, qui sont aussi bons que pigeonneaux. Le sieur de Poitrincourt s'y pensa esgarer: Mais en sin il reuint à nostre barque comme nous l'allions cerchant autour de isle, qui est essoignee de la terre ferme trois lieues." Chap. iii.

2. Explorations in the Vineyard Sound. Voyage of 1604-8. "Comme nous eufmes fait quelques fix ou fept lieues nous eufmes cognoiffance d'vne ifle que nous nommafmes la foupçonneufe, pour auoir eu plufieurs fois croyance de loing que ce fut autre chofe qu'vne ifle, puis le vent nous vint contraire, qui nous fit relascher au lieu d'où nous estions partis, auquel nous fusmes deux on trois jours sans que durant ce

temps il vint aucũ fauuage se presenter à nous." Chap. xv. 3. Fight with the Indians on the Richelieu. Voyage of 1610.

"Les Yroquois f'eftonnoient du bruit de nos arquebuses, & principalemet de ce que les balles persoient mieux que leurs flesches; & eurent tellement l'espouuate de l'effet qu'elles faisoient, voyat plusieurs de leurs copaignons tombez morts, & blessez, que de crainte qu'ils auoient, croy-

ans ces coups estre sans remede ils se iettoient par terre, quand ils entendoient le bruit: aussi ne tirions gueres à faute, & deux ou trois balles à chacun coup, & auios la pluspart du temps nos arquebuses appuyees sur le bord de leur barricade." Chap. ii.

The following words, found in the writings of Champlain, are to be noted as used by him in a sense different from the ordinary one, or as not found in the dictionaries. They occur in the voyages of 1603 and 1604-11. The numbers refer to the continuous pagination in the Quebec edition:

appoil, 159. A species of duck. (?)

catalougue, 266. A cloth used for wrapping up a dead body. Cf. Spanish catalogo.

deferter, 211, et passim. In the sense of to clear up a new country by removing the trees, &c.

esplan, 166. A small fish, like the equille of Normandy.

estaire, 250. A kind of mat. Cf. Spanish estera.

fleurir, 247. To break or foam, spoken of the waves of the sea.

legueux, 190. Watery. (?) Or for ligneux, fibrous. (?) marmette, 159. A kind of fea-bird.

Matachias, 75, et passim. Indian word for strings of beads, used to ornament the person.

papesi, 381. Name of one of the sails of a vessel.

petunoir, 79. Pipe for smoking.

Pilotua, 82, et passim. Word used by the Indians for foothfayer or medicine-man.

Souler, 252. In fense of, to be wont, accustomed.

truitière, 264. Trout-brook.

The first and main aim of the translator has been to give the

# 224 Preface to the Translation.

the exact fense of the original, and he has endeavored also to reproduce as far as possible the spirit and tone of Champlain's narrative. The important requisite in a translation, that it should be pure and idiomatic English, without any transfer of the mode of expression peculiar to the foreign language, has not, it is hoped, been violated, at least to any great extent. If, perchance, a French term or usage has been transferred to the translation, it is because it has seemed that the sense or spirit would be better conveyed in this way. At best, a translation comes short of the original, and it is perhaps pardonable at times to admit a foreign term, if by this means the sense or style seems to be better preserved. It is hoped that the present work has been done so as to satisfy the demands of the historian, who may find it convenient to use it in his investigations.

C. P. O.

BOSTON, June 17, 1880.



# THE SAVAGES

OR VOYAGE OF

## SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

OF BROUAGE,

Made in New France in the year 1603.

DESCRIBING,

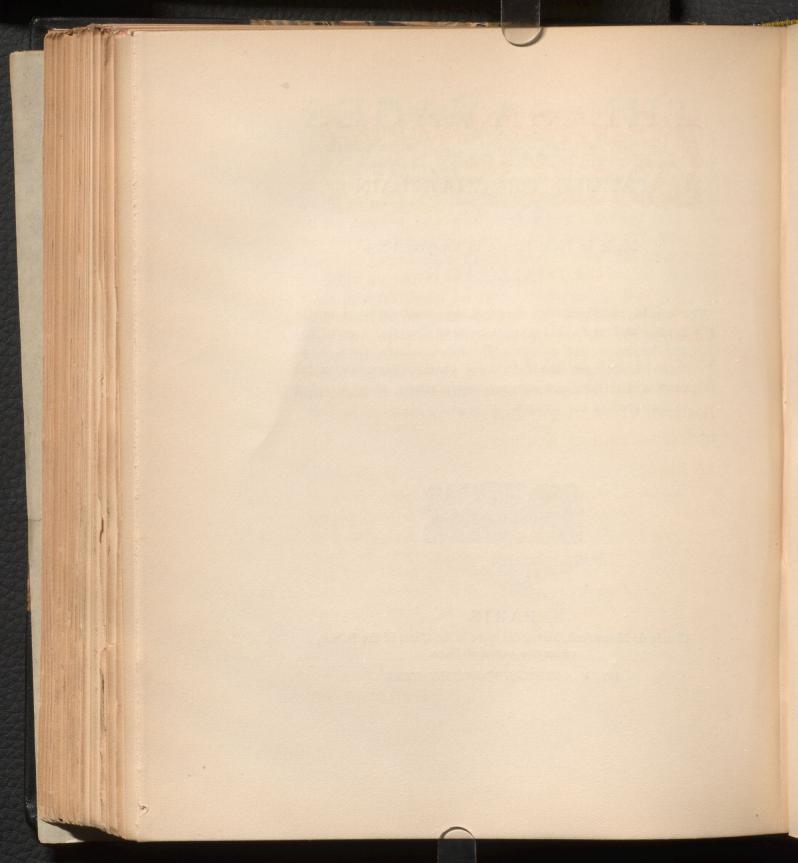
The customs, mode of life, marriages, wars, and dwellings of the Savages of Canada. Discoveries for more than four hundred and fifty leagues in the country. The tribes, animals, rivers, lakes, islands, lands, trees, and fruits found there. Discoveries on the coast of La Cadie, and numerous mines existing there according to the report of the Savages.



#### PARIS.

Claude de Monstr'œil, having his store in the Court of the Palace, under the name of Jesus.

WITH AUTHORITY OF THE KING.





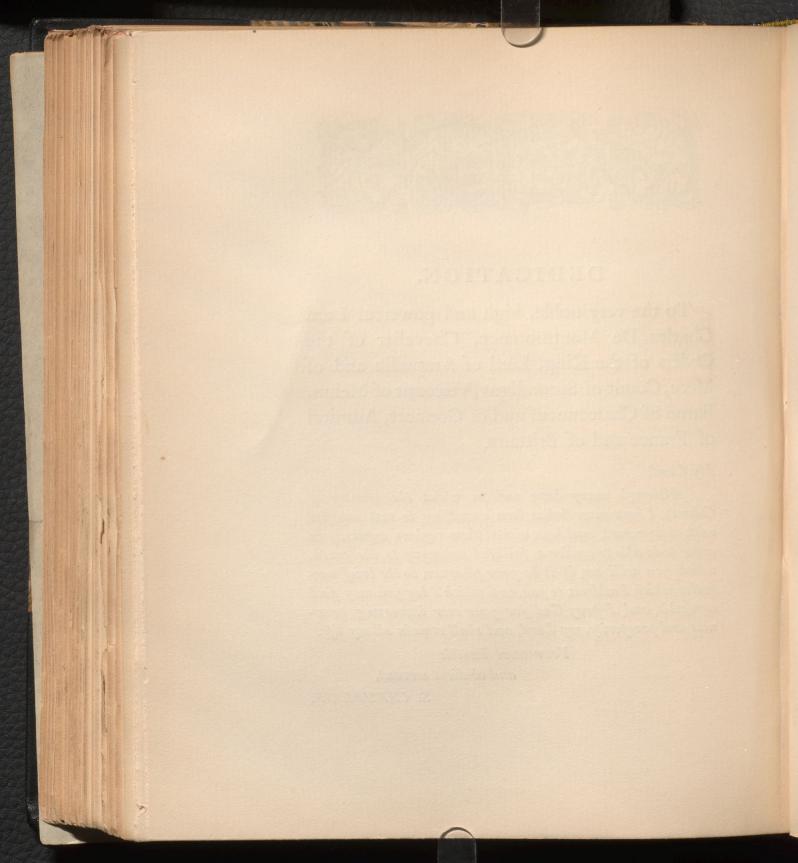
## DEDICATION.

To the very noble, high and powerful Lord Charles De Montmorency, Chevalier of the Orders of the King, Lord of Ampuille and of Meru, Count of Secondigny, Viscount of Melun, Baron of Chateauneuf and of Gonnort, Admiral of France and of Brittany.

My Lord,

Although many have written about the country of Canada, I have nevertheless been unwilling to rest satisfied with their report, and have visited these regions expressly in order to be able to render a faithful testimony to the truth, which you will see, if it be your pleasure, in the brief narrative which I address to you, and which I beg you may find agreeable, and I pray God for your ever increasing greatness and prosperity, my Lord, and shall remain all my life,

Your most humble and obedient servant,
S. CHAMPLAIN.





## EXTRACT FROM THE LICENSE.

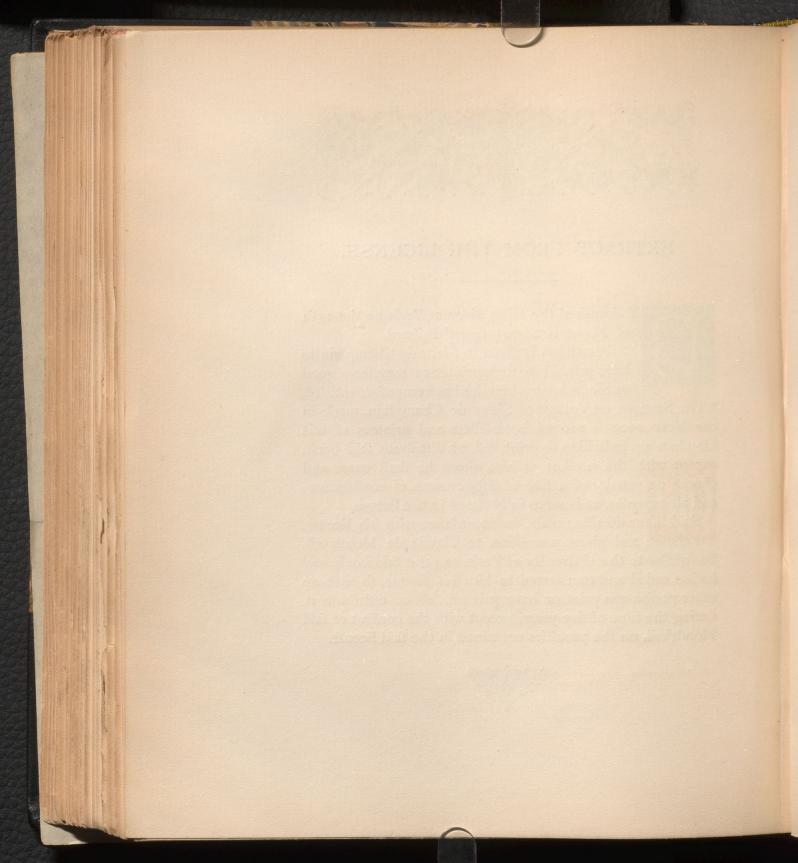
Y license of the King, given at Paris on the 15th of November, 1603, figned Brigard.

Permission is given to Sieur de Champlain to have printed by such printer as may seem good to him, a book which he has composed, entitled,

"The Savages, or Voyage of Sieur de Champlain, made in the Year 1603;" and all book-fellers and printers of this kingdom are forbidden to print, fell, or diftribute faid book, except with the confent of him whom he shall name and choose, on penalty of a fine of fifty crowns, of confiscation, and all expenses, as is more fully stated in the license.

Said Sieur de Champlain, in accordance with his licenfe, has chosen and given permission to Claude de Monstr'œil, book-feller to the University of Paris, to print said book, and he has ceded and transferred to him his license, so that no other person can print or have printed, sell, or distribute it, during the time of sive years, except with the consent of said Monstr'œil, on the penalties contained in the said license.







## THE SAVAGES

OR

## VOYAGE OF SIEUR DE CHAMPLAIN

MADE IN THE YEAR 1603.

### CHAPTER I.

BRIEF NARRATIVE OF THE VOYAGE FROM HONFLEUR IN NORMANDY TO THE PORT OF TADOUSSAC IN CANADA.



E fet out from Honfleur on the 15th of March, 1603. On the fame day we put back to the roadstead of Havre de Grâce, the wind not being favorable. On Sunday following, the 16th, we fet fail on our route. On the 17th, we fighted

d'Orgny and Grenesey,121 islands between the coast of Normandy and England. On the 18th of the fame month, we faw the coast of Brittany. On the 19th, at 7 o'clock in the evening we reckoned that we were off Ouessant. 122 On the 21st, at 7 o'clock in the morning, we met feven Flemish vessels, com-

121 Alderney and Guernsey. French have d'Aurigny.

122 The islands lying off Finistère, on maps at the present day for Alderney the western extremity of Brittany in France.

ing, as we thought, from the Indies. On Easter day, the 30th of the same month, we encountered a great tempest, which seemed to be more lightning than wind, and which lasted for seventeen days, though not continuing so severe as it was on the first two days. During this time, we lost more than we gained. On the 16th of April, to the delight of all, the weather began to be more favorable, and the sea calmer than it had been, so that we continued our course until the 28th, when we fell in with a very losty iceberg. The next day we sighted a bank of ice more than eight leagues long, accompanied by an infinite number of smaller banks, which prevented us from going on. In the opinion of the pilot, these masses of ice were about a hundred or a hundred and twenty leagues from Canada. We were in latitude 45° 40', and continued our course in 44°.

On the 2nd of May we reached the Bank at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, in 44° 40′. On the 6th of the fame month we had approached fo near to land that we heard the fea beating on the shore, which, however, we could not see on account of the dense fog, to which these coasts are subject. For this reason we put out to sea again a few leagues, until the next morning, when the weather being clear, we sighted land,

which was Cape St. Mary.124

On the 12th we were overtaken by a fevere gale, lafting two days. On the 15th we fighted the islands of St. Peter. 125 On the 17th we fell in with an ice-bank near Cape Ray, fix leagues in length, which led us to lower fail for the entire night

128 The fhore which they approached was probably Cape Pine, eaft of Placentia Bay, Newfoundland.

124 In Placentia Bay, on the fouthern coaft of Newfoundland.
 125 Weft of Placentia Bay.

that we might avoid the danger to which we were exposed. On the next day we fet fail and fighted Cape Ray, 126 the islands of St. Paul, and Cape St. Lawrence. 127 The latter is on the mainland lying to the fouth, and the distance from it to Cape Ray is eighteen leagues, that being the breadth of the entrance to the great bay of Canada. 128 On the fame day, about ten o'clock in the morning, we fell in with another bank of ice, more than eight leagues in length. On the 20th, we fighted an ifland fome twenty-five or thirty leagues long, called Anticosty, 129 which marks the entrance to the river of Canada. The next day, we fighted Gaspé, 130 a very high land, and be-

islands of St. Peter.

127 Cape St. Lawrence, now called Cape North, is the northern extremity of the island of Cape Breton, and the island of St. Paul is a few miles north of it.

128 The Gulf or Bay of St. Lawrence. It was fo named by Jacques Cartier on his fecond voyage, in 1535. Nous nommafmes la dicte baye la Sainct Laurens. Brief Récit, 1545, D'Avezac ed. p. 8. The northeastern part of it is called on De Laet's map, "Grand Baye."

129 "This island is about one hundred and forty miles long, thirty-five miles broad in its widest part, with an average breadth of twenty-feven and one-half miles."-Le Moine's Chronicles of the St. Lawrence, p. 100. It was named by Cartier in 1535, the Island of the Assumption, having been discovered on the 15th of August, the festival of the Nous auons nommes Affumption. l'ysle de l'Assumption. — Brief Récit, 1545, D'Avezac's ed. p. 9. Alsonse, in his report of his voyage of 1542, calls it the *Ifle de l'Afcension*, probably by mistake. "The Isle of Ascension is a goodly isle and a goodly champion land, without from the shore by the violence of the

126 Cape Ray is northwest of the any hills, standing all vpon white rocks and Alabaster, all couered with wild beafts, as bears, Luferns, Porkespicks." Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 292. Of this island De Laet fays, "Elle est nommee en langage des Sauuages Natiscotec."—Hist. du Nouveau Monde, a Leyde, 1640, p. 42. Vide also Wyet's Voyage in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 241. Laverdière says the Montagnais now call it Natascoueh, which fignifies, where the bear is caught. He cites Thevet, who fays it is called by the favages Naticousti, by others de Laifple. The use of the name Anticosty by Champlain, now spelled Anticosti, would imply that its corruption from the original, Natiscotec, took place at a very early date. Or it is possible that Champlain wrote it as he heard it pronounced by the natives, and his orthography may best represent the original.

130 Gachepé, so written in the text, fubfequently written by the author Gafpev, but now generally Gaspé. It is supposed to have been derived from the Abnaquis word Katsepi ∞i, which means what is feparated from the rest, and to have reference to a remarkable rock, three miles above Cape Gaspé, separated gan to enter the river of Canada, coasting along the fouth side as far as Montanne,131 diftant fixty-five leagues from Gaspé. Proceeding on our course, we came in fight of the Bic,132 twenty leagues from Mantanne and on the fouthern shore; continuing farther, we croffed the river to Tadoussac, fifteen leagues from the Bic. All this region is very high,

barren, and unproductive.

On the 24th of the month, we came to anchor before Tadouffac,133 and on the 26th entered this port, which has the form of a cove. It is at the mouth of the river Saguenay, where there is a current and tide of remarkable fwiftness and a great depth of water, and where there are fometimes troublesome winds,134 in confequence of the cold they bring. It is flated that it is some forty-five or fifty leagues up to the first fall in this river, and that it flows from the northwest. The harbor of Tadouffac is fmall, in which only ten or twelve

waves, the incident from which it takes its name. — Vide Voyages de Champlain, ed. 1632, p. 91; Chronicles of the St. Lawrence, by J. M. Le Moine, p. 9.

181 A river flowing into the St. Law-

rence from the fouth in latitude 48°52' and in longitude west from Greenwich 67°32′, now known as the Matane.

182 For Bic, Champlain has Pic, which is probably a typographical error. It feems probable that Bic is derived from the French word bicoque, which means a place of fmall confideration, a little paltry town. Near the fite of the ancient Bic, we now have, on modern maps, Bicoque Rocks, Bicquette Light, Bic Island, Bic Channel, and Bic Anchorage. As fuggested by Laverdière, this appears to be the identical harbor entered by Jacques Cartier, in 1535, who named it the Isles of Saint John, because he entered it on the day of the

beheading of St. John, which was the 29th of August. Nous les nommasmes les Ysleaux sainct Jehan, parce que nous y entrasmes le iour de la decollation dudict saïct. Brief Récit, 1545, D'Avezac's ed. p. 11. Le Jeune speaks of the Isle du Bic in 1635. Vide Relation des

Jésuites, p. 19.
188 Tadoussac, or Tadouchac, is derived from the word totouchac, which in Montagnais means breasts, and Saguenay fignifies water which springs forth, from the Montagnais word saki-nip. - Vide Laverdière in loco. Tadoussac, or the breafts from which water fprings forth, is naturally fuggested by the rocky elevations at the base of which the Saguenay flows.

184 Impetueux, plainly intended to mean troublesome, as may be seen from

the context.

veffels could lie; but there is water enough on the eaft, sheltered from the river Saguenay, and along a little mountain, which is almost cut off by the river. On the shore there are very high mountains, on which there is little earth, but only rocks and fand, which are covered with pine, cyprefs and fir,135 and a smallish species of trees. There is a small pond near the harbor, enclosed by wood-covered mountains. At the entrance to the harbor, there are two points: the one on the west side extending a league out into the river, and called St. Matthew's Point; 136 the other on the foutheast fide extending out a quarter of a league, and called All-Devils' Point. This harbor is exposed to the winds from the fouth, foutheast, and fouth-fouthwest. The distance from St. Matthew's Point to All-Devils' Point is nearly a league; both points are dry at low tide. CHAPTER II.

strobus, or Strobus Americanus, grows as far north as Newfoundland, and as far fouth as Georgia. It was observed by Captain George Weymouth on the Kennebec, and hence deals afterward imported into England were called Weymouth pine. — Vide Chronological History of Plants, by Charles Pickering, M.D., Boston, 1879, p. 809. This is probably the species here referred to by Champlain. Cypress, Cyprez. This was probably the American arbor vitæ, Thuja occidentalis, a species which, according to the Abbé Laverdière, is found in the neighborhood of the Saguenay. Champlain employed the fame word to defignate the American favin, or red cedar, Juniperus Virginiana, which he found on Cape Cod. - Vide Vol. II. p. 82. Note 168.

Fir, fapins. The fir may have been the white fpruce, Abies alba, or the black fpruce, Abies nigra, or the balfam fir or Canada balfam, Abies balfamea,

185 Pine, pins. The white pine, Pinus or yet the hemlock fpruce, Abies Cana-

as Point aux Allouettes, or Lark Point.

— Vide Vol. II. p 165, note 292. AllDevils' Point, now called Pointe aux
Vaches. Both of these points had
changed their names before the publication of Champlain's ed., 1632. — Vide
p. 119 of that edition. The last mentioned was called by Champlain, in 1632,
pointe aux roches. Laverdière thinks
roches was a typographical error, as
Sagard, about the same time, writes
vaches. — Vide Sagard, Histoire du
Canada, 1636, Stross. ed., Vol. I. p. 150.

We naturally ask why it was called pointe aux vaches, or point of cows. An old French apothegm reads Le diable est aux vaches, the devil is in the cows, for which in English we say, "the devil is to pay." May not this proverb have suggested vaches as a synonyme of diables?

#### CHAPTER II.

FAVORABLE RECEPTION GIVEN TO THE FRENCH BY THE GRAND SAGAMORE OF THE SAVAGES OF CANADA. — THE BANQUETS AND DANCES OF THE LATTER. — THEIR WAR WITH THE IROQUOIS. — THE MATERIAL OF WHICH THEIR CANOES AND CABINS ARE MADE, AND THEIR MODE OF CONSTRUCTION. — INCLUDING ALSO A DESCRIPTION OF ST. MATTHEW'S POINT.



N the 27th, we went to vifit the favages at St. Matthew's point, diftant a league from Tadouffac, accompanied by the two favages whom Sieur du Pont Gravé took to make a report of what they had feen in France, and of the

friendly reception the king had given them. Having landed, we proceeded to the cabin of their grand Sagamore<sup>137</sup> named Anadabijou, whom we found with fome eighty or a hundred of his companions celebrating a tabagie, that is a banquet. He received us very cordially, and according to the custom of his country, feating us near himself, with all the savages arranged in rows on both sides of the cabin. One of the savages whom we had taken with us began to make an address, speaking of the cordial reception the king had given them, and the good treatment they had received in France, and saying they were assured that his Majesty was savorably disposed towards them, and was desirous of peopling their country, and of making peace with their enemies, the Iroquois, or of sending forces to conquer them. He also told them of the handsome manors, palaces, and houses they

187 Sagamo, thus written in the Montagnais language, is derived from French. According to Laflèche, as tchi, great, and okimau, chief, and cited by Laverdière, this word, in the consequently fignifies the Great Chief.

meat

had feen, and of the inhabitants and our mode of living. He was liftened to with the greatest possible filence. Now, after he had finished his address, the grand Sagamore, Anadabijou, who had liftened to it attentively, proceeded to take fome tobacco, and give it to Sieur du Pont Gravé of St. Malo, myfelf, and fome other Sagamores, who were near him. After a long fmoke, he began to make his address to all, fpeaking with gravity, stopping at times a little, and then refuming and faying, that they truly ought to be very glad in having his Majesty for a great friend. They all answered with one voice, Ho, ho, ho, that is to fay yes, yes. He continuing his address faid that he should be very glad to have his Majesty people their land, and make war upon their enemies; that there was no nation upon earth to which they were more kindly disposed than to the French: finally he gave them all to understand the advantage and profit they could receive from his Majesty. After he had finished his address, we went out of his cabin, and they began to celebrate their tabagie or banquet, at which they have elk's meat, which is fimilar to beef, also that of the bear, feal and beaver, these being their ordinary meats, including also quantities of fowl. They had eight or ten boilers full of meats, in the middle of this cabin, feparated fome fix feet from each other, each one having its own fire. They were feated on both fides, as I flated before, each one having his porringer made of bark. When the meat is cooked, some one distributes to each his portion in his porringer, when they eat in a very filthy manner. For when their hands are covered with fat, they rub them on their heads or on the hair of their dogs, of which they have large numbers for hunting. Before their

meat was cooked, one of them arofe, took a dog and hopped around these boilers from one end of the cabin to the other. Arriving in front of the great Sagamore, he threw his dog violently to the ground, when all with one voice exclaimed, Ho, ho, ho, after which he went back to his place. Inflantly another arose and did the same, which performance was continued until the meat was cooked. Now after they had finished their tabagie, they began to dance, taking the heads of their enemies, which were flung on their backs, as a fign of joy. One or two of them fing, keeping time with their hands, which they strike on their knees: fometimes they ftop, exclaiming, Ho, ho, ho, when they begin dancing again, puffing like a man out of breath. They were having this celebration in honor of the victory they had obtained over the Iroquois, feveral hundred of whom they had killed, whose heads they had cut off and had with them to contribute to the pomp of their festivity. Three nations had engaged in the war, the Etechemins, Algonquins, and Montagnais. 138 These, to the number of a thousand, proceeded to make war upon the Iroquois, whom they encountered at the mouth of the river of the Iroquois, and of whom they killed a hundred. They carry on war only by furprifing their enemies; for they would not dare to do fo otherwife, and fear too much the Iroquois, who are more numerous than the Montagnais, Etechemins, and Algonquins.

On

188 The Etechemins may be faid in general terms to have occupied the terboth fides of the Saguenay, having their ritory from St. John, N. B., to Mount trading centre at Tadouffac War had Defert Island, in Maine, and perhaps been carried on for a period we know still further west, but not south of Saco. not how long, perhaps for several cen-The Algonquins here referred to were turies, between these allied tribes and those who dwelt on the Ottawa River. the Iroquois.

On the 28th of this month they came and erected cabins at the harbor of Tadouffac, where our veffel was. At daybreak their grand Sagamore came out from his cabin and went about all the others, crying out to them in a loud voice to break camp to go to Tadouffac, where their good friends were. Each one immediately took down his cabin in an incredibly short time, and the great captain was the first to take his canoe and carry it to the water, where he embarked his wife and children, and a quantity of furs. Thus were launched nearly two hundred canoes, which go wonderfully fast; for, although our shallop was well manned, yet they went faster than ourselves. Two only do the work of propelling the boat, a man and a woman. Their canoes are fome eight or nine feet long, and a foot or a foot and a half broad in the middle, growing narrower towards the two ends. They are very liable to turn over, if one does not understand how to manage them, for they are made of the bark of trees called bouille,139 strengthened on the infide by little ribs of wood ftrongly and neatly made. They are fo light that a man can easily carry one, and each canoe can carry the weight of a pipe. When they wish to go overland to some river where they have business, they carry their canoes with them.

Their cabins are low and made like tents, being covered with the fame kind of bark as that before mentioned. whole

189 Bouille for bouleau, the birch- The white birch, Betula alba, of Eutree. Betula papyracea, popularly rope and Northern Afia, is used for known as the paper or canoe birch. It boat-building at the prefent day .- Vide is a large tree, the bark white, and fplit- Chronological History of Plants, by ting into thin layers. It is common in Charles Pickering, M.D., Boston, 1879,

New England, and far to the north. p. 134.

whole top for the space of about a foot they leave uncovered, whence the light enters; and they make a number of fires directly in the middle of the cabin, in which there are fometimes ten families at once. They fleep on fkins, all together,

and their dogs with them. 140

They were in number a thousand persons, men, women and children. The place at St. Matthew's Point, where they were first encamped, is very pleasant. They were at the foot of a fmall flope covered with trees, firs and cypreffes. At St. Matthew's Point there is a fmall level place, which is feen at a great distance. On the top of this hill there is a level tract of land, a league long, half a league broad, covered with trees. The foil is very fandy, and contains good pasturage. Elfewhere there are only rocky mountains, which are very barren. The tide rifes about this flope, but at low water leaves it dry for a full half league out.

CHAPTER III.

140 The dog was the only domestic animal found among the aborigines of this country. "The Australians," fays Dr. Pickering, "appear to be the only confiderable portion of mankind deftitute of the companionship of the dog. The American tribes, from the Arctic Sea to Cape Horn, had the companionship of the dog, and certain remarkable breeds had been developed before the visit of Columbus (F. Columbus 25); further, according to Coues, the cross between the coyote and female dog is regularly procured by our northwestern tribes, and, according to Gabb, "dogs one-fourth coyote are pointed out; the coyote or American barking wolfe, ionship of the dog with man.

Canis latrans, is the dog in its original wild state."-Vide Chronological History of Plants, etc., by Charles Pickering, M.D., Boston, 1879, p. 20.

"It was believed by fome for a length of time that the wild dog was of recent introduction to Australia; this is not fo." - Vide Aborigines of Victoria, by R. Brough Smyth, London, 1878, Vol. I. p. 149. The bones of the wild dog have recently been discovered in Auftralia, at a depth of excavation, and in circumstances, which prove that his existence there antedates the introduction of any species of the dog by Europeans. The Australians appear, therefore, to be fact therefore feems established that the no exception to the universal compan-

#### CHAPTER III.

THE REJOICINGS OF THE INDIANS AFTER OBTAINING A VICTORY OVER THEIR ENEMIES.—THEIR DISPOSITION, ENDURANCE OF HUNGER, AND MALICIOUSNESS.—THEIR BELIEFS AND FALSE OPINIONS, COMMUNICATION WITH EVIL SPIRITS.—THEIR GARMENTS, AND HOW THEY WALK ON THE SNOW.—THEIR MANNER OF MARRIAGE, AND THE INTERMENT OF THEIR DEAD.



N the 9th of June the favages proceeded to have a rejoicing all together, and to celebrate their tabagie, which I have before described, and to dance, in honor of their victory over their enemies. Now, after they had feasted well, the

Algonquins, one of the three nations, left their cabins and went by themselves to a public place. Here they arranged all their wives and daughters by the fide of each other, and took position themselves behind them, all singing in the manner I have described before. Suddenly all the wives and daughters proceeded to throw off their robes of skins, prefenting themselves stark naked, and exposing their fexual parts. But they were adorned with matachiats, that is beads and braided ftrings, made of porcupine quills, which they dye in various colors. After finishing their fongs, they all faid together, Ho, ho, ho: at the fame inftant all the wives and daughters covered themselves with their robes, which were at their feet. Then, after stopping a short time, all suddenly beginning to fing throw off their robes as before. They do not flir from their position while dancing, and make various gestures and movements of the body, lifting one foot and then the other, at the fame time striking upon the ground. Now, during the performance of this dance, the Sagamore

of the Algonquins, named Befouat, was feated before these wives and daughters, between two flicks, on which were hung the heads of their enemies. Sometimes he arose and went haranguing, and faying to the Montagnais and Etechemins: "Look! how we rejoice in the victory that we have obtained over our enemies; you must do the same, so that we may be fatisfied." Then all faid together, Ho, ho, ho. After returning to his position, the grand Sagamore together with all his companions removed their robes, making themselves stark naked except their fexual parts, which are covered with a fmall piece of skin. Each one took what seemed good to him, as matachiats, hatchets, fwords, kettles, fat, elk flesh, feal, in a word each one had a prefent, which they proceeded to give to the Algonquins. After all these ceremonies, the dance ceased, and the Algonquins, men and women, carried their prefents into their cabins. Then two of the most agile men of each nation were taken, whom they caufed to run, and he who was the fastest in the race, received a present.

All these people have a very cheerful disposition, laughing often; yet at the same time they are somewhat phlegmatic. They talk very deliberately, as if desiring to make themselves well understood, and stopping suddenly, they reslect for a long time, when they resume their discourse. This is their usual manner at their harangues in council, where only the leading men, the elders, are present, the women and children

not attending at all.

All these people suffer so much sometimes from hunger, on account of the severe cold and snow, when the animals and sowl on which they live go away to warmer countries, that they are almost constrained to eat one another. I am of opinion

opinion that if one were to teach them how to live, and infiruct them in the cultivation of the foil and in other refpects, they would learn very eafily, for I can testify that many of them have good judgment and respond very appropriately to whatever question may be put to them. They have the vices of taking revenge and of lying badly, and are people in whom it is not well to put much considence, except with caution and with force at hand. They promise well, but keep their word badly.

Most of them have no law, so far as I have been able to observe or learn from the great Sagamore, who told me that they really believed there was a God, who created all things. Whereupon I faid to him: that, "Since they believed in one fole God, how had he placed them in the world, and whence was their origin." He replied: that, "After God had made all things, he took a large number of arrows, and put them in the ground; whence fprang men and women, who had been multiplying in the world up to the prefent time, and that this was their origin." I answered that what he said was false, but that there really was one only God, who had created all things upon earth and in the heavens. Seeing all these things so perfect, but that there was no one to govern here on earth, he took clay from the ground, out of which he created Adam our first father. While Adam was fleeping, God took a rib from his fide, from which he formed Eve, whom he gave to him as a companion, and, I told him, that it was true that they and ourfelves had our origin in this manner, and not from arrows, as they suppose. He faid nothing, except that he acknowledged what I faid, rather than

what he had afferted. I asked him also if he did not believe that there was more than one only God. He told me their belief was that there was a God, a Son, a Mother, and the Sun, making four; that God, however, was above all, that the Son and the Sun were good, fince they received good things from them; but the Mother, he faid, was worthlefs, and ate them up; and the Father not very good. I remonstrated with him on his error, and contrasted it with our faith, in which he put some little confidence. I asked him if they had never feen God, nor heard from their ancestors that God had come into the world. He faid that they had never feen him; but that formerly there were five men who went towards the fetting fun, who met God, who asked them: "Where are you going?" they answered: "We are going in fearch of our living." God replied to them: "You will find it here." They went on, without paying attention to what God had faid to them, when he took a stone and touched two of them with it, whereupon they were changed to ftones; and he faid again to the three others: "Where are you going?" They answered as before, and God faid to them again: "Go no farther, you will find it here." And feeing that nothing came to them, they went on; when God took two flicks, with which he touched the two first, whereupon they were transformed into flicks, when the fifth one ftopped, not wishing to go farther. And God asked him again: "Where are you going?" "I am going in fearch of my living." "Stay and thou shalt find it." He staid without advancing farther, and God gave him fome meat, which he ate. After making good cheer, he returned to the other favages, and related to them all the above. He

He told me also that another time there was a man who had a large quantity of tobacco (a plant from which they obtain what they fmoke), and that God came to this man, and asked him where his pipe was. The man took his pipe. and gave it to God, who fmoked much. After fmoking to his fatisfaction, God broke the pipe into many pieces, and the man asked: "Why hast thou broken my pipe? thou feeft in truth that I have not another." Then God took one that he had, and gave it to him, faying: "Here is one that I will give you, take it to your great Sagamore; let him keep it, and if he keep it well, he will not want for any thing whatever, neither he nor all his companions." The man took the pipe, and gave it to his great Sagamore; and while he kept it, the favages were in want of nothing whatever: but he faid that afterwards the grand Sagamore loft this pipe, which was the cause of the severe famines they sometimes have. I asked him if he believed all that; he said yes, and that it was the truth. Now I think that this is the reason why they fay that God is not very good. But I replied, "that God was in all respects good, and that it was doubtless the Devil who had manifested himself to those men, and that if they would believe as we did in God they would not want for what they had need of; that the fun which they faw, the moon and the ftars, had been created by this great God, who made heaven and earth, but that they have no power except that which God has given them; that we believe in this great God, who by His goodness had fent us His dear Son who, being conceived of the Holy Spirit, was clothed with human flesh in the womb of the Virgin Mary, lived thirty years on earth, doing an infinitude of miracles, raifing

raifing the dead, healing the fick, driving out devils, giving fight to the blind, teaching men the will of God his Father, that they might ferve, honor and worship Him, shed his blood, fuffered and died for us, and our fins, and ranfomed the human race; that, being buried, he rose again, descended into hell, and afcended into heaven, where he is feated on the right hand of God his Father." 142 I told him that this was the faith of all Christians who believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; that thefe, neverthelefs, are not three Gods, but one the fame and only God, and a trinity in which there is no before nor after, no greater nor fmaller; that the Virgin Mary, mother of the Son of God, and all the men and women who have lived in this world doing the commandments of God, and enduring martyrdom for his name, and who by the permission of God have done miracles, and are faints in heaven in his paradife, are all of them praying this Great Divine Majesty to pardon us our errors and fins which we commit against His law and commandments. And thus, by the prayers of the faints in heaven and by our own prayers to his Divine Majesty, He gives what we have need of, and the devil has no power over us and can do us no harm. I told them that if they had this belief, they would be like us, and that the devil could no longer do them any harm, and that they would not lack what they had need of.

Then this Sagamore replied to me that he acknowledged what I faid. I asked him what ceremonies they were accustomed to in praying to their God. He told me that they were not accustomed to any ceremonies, but that each prayed in his heart

142 This fummary of the Christian faith is nearly in the words of the Apostles Creed.

heart as he defired. This is why I believe that they have no law, not knowing what it is to worship and pray to God, and living, the most of them, like brute beasts. But I think that they would speedily become good Christians, if people were to colonize their country, of which most of them were desirous.

There are fome favages among them whom they call *Pilotoua*, <sup>143</sup> who have perfonal communications with the devil. Such an one tells them what they are to do, not only in regard to war, but other things; and if he fhould command them to execute any undertaking, as to kill a Frenchman or one of their own nation, they would obey his command at once.

They believe, also, that all dreams which they have are real; and many of them, indeed, say that they have seen in dreams things which come to pass or will come to pass. But, to tell the truth in the matter, these are visions of the devil, who deceives and misleads them. This is all that I have been able to learn from them in regard to their matters of belief, which is of a low, animal nature.

All these people are well proportioned in body, without any deformity, and are also agile. The women are well-shaped, full and plump, and of a swarthy complexion, on account of the large amount of a certain pigment with which they rub themselves, and which gives them an olive color. They are clothed in skins, one part of their body being covered and the other left uncovered. In winter they provide for their whole body, for they are dressed in good furs, as those of the elk, otter, beaver, seal, stag, and hind, which

<sup>148</sup> On Pilotoua or Pilotois, vide Vol. II. note 341.

which they have in large quantities. In winter, when the fnows are heavy, they make a fort of *raquette*, <sup>144</sup> two or three times as large as those in France. These they attach to their feet, and thus walk upon the snow without sinking in; for without them, they could not hunt or make their way in many places.

Their manner of marriage is as follows: When a girl attains the age of fourteen or fifteen years, she may have several fuitors and friends, and keep company with such as she pleases. At the end of some five or fix years she may choose that one to whom her fancy inclines as her husband, and they will live together until the end of their life, unless, after living together a certain period, they fail to have children, when the husband is at liberty to divorce himself and take another wife, on the ground that his own is of no worth. Accordingly, the girls are more free than the wives; yet as soon as they are married they are chaste, and their husbands are for the most part jealous, and give presents to the father or relatives of the girl whom they marry. This is the manner of marriage, and conduct in the same.

In regard to their interments, when a man or woman dies, they make a trench, in which they put all their property, as kettles, furs, axes, bows and arrows, robes, and other things. Then they put the body in the trench, and cover it with earth, laying on top many large pieces of wood, and erecting over all a piece of wood painted red on the upper part. They believe in the immortality of the foul, and fay that when they die themselves, they shall go to rejoice with their relatives and friends in other lands.

CHAPTER IV.

<sup>144</sup> Vne maniere de raquette. The for ftriking the ball in the game of tenfnow-fhoe, which much refembles the nis. This name was given for the want racket or battledore, an inftrument used of one more specific.

### CHAPTER IV.

THE RIVER SAGUENAY AND ITS SOURCE.



N the 11th of June, I went fome twelve or fifteen leagues up the Saguenay, which is a fine river, of remarkable depth. For I think, judging from what I have heard in regard to its fource, that it comes from a very high place,

whence a torrent of water defcends with great impetuofity. But the water which proceeds thence is not capable of producing fuch a river as this, which, however, only extends from this torrent, where the first fall is, to the harbor of Tadouffac, at the mouth of the Saguenay, a diftance of fome forty-five or fifty leagues, it being a good league and a half broad at the widest place, and a quarter of a league at the narrowest; for which reason there is a strong current. All the country, fo far as I faw it, confifted only of rocky mountains, mostly covered with fir, cypress, and birch; a very unattractive region in which I did not find a level tract of land either on the one fide or the other. There are fome islands in the river, which are high and fandy. In a word, these are real deferts, uninhabitable for animals or birds. For I can testify that when I went hunting in places which feemed to me the most attractive, I found nothing whatever but little birds, like nightingales and fwallows, which come only in fummer, as I think, on account of the exceffive cold there, this river coming from the northwest.

They told me that, after passing the first fall, whence this torrent comes, they pass eight other falls, when they go a day's

journey without finding any; then they pass ten other falls and enter a lake 145 which it requires two days to cross, they being able to make easily from twelve to fifteen leagues a day. At the other extremity of the lake is found a people who live in cabins. Then you enter three other rivers, up each of which the distance is a journey of some three or four days. At the extremity of these rivers are two or three bodies of water, like lakes, in which the Saguenay has its fource, from which to Tadouffac is a journey of ten days in their canoes. There is a large number of cabins on the border of these rivers, occupied by other tribes which come from the north to exchange with the Montagnais their beaver and marten skins for articles of merchandise, which the French veffels furnish to the Montagnais. These favages from the north fay that they live within fight of a fea which is falt. If this is the case, I think that it is a gulf of that sea which slows from the north into the interior, and in fact it cannot be otherwife.146 This is what I have learned in regard to the River Saguenay.

CHAPTER V.

145 This was Lake St. John. This tained from the Indians a very correct description is given nearly *verbatim* in idea not only of the existence but of the

Vol. II. p. 169. - Vide notes in the character of Hudson's Bay, although that bay was not discovered by Hudson fame volume, 294, 295. that bay was not discovered by Hudi 146 Champlain appears to have ob-till about seven years later than this.

#### CHAPTER V.

Departure from Tadoussac for the Fall. — Description of Hare Island, Isle Du Coudre, Isle D'Orléans, and several others. — Our Arrival at Quebec.

N Wednesday, the eighteenth day of June, we set out from Tadoussac for the Fall. We passed near an island called Hare Island, 48 about two leagues from the northern shore and some seven leagues from Tadoussac and sive leagues from

the fouthern shore. From Hare Island we proceeded along the northern coast about half a league, to a point extending out into the water, where one must keep out farther. This point is one league 149 from an island called Isla au Coudre, about two leagues wide, the distance from which to the northern shore is a league. This island has a pretty even surface, growing narrower towards the two ends. At the western end there are meadows and rocky points, which extend out some distance into the river. This island is very pleasant on account of the woods surrounding it. It has a great deal of slate-rock, and the soil is very gravelly; at its extremity there is a rock extending half a league out into

147 Saut de St. Louis, about three leagues above Montreal.

148 Ifle au Lieure. Hare Island, so named by Cartier from the great number of hares which he found there. Le foir feusmes à ladicte ysle, ou trou-uasmes grand nobre de lieures, desquelz eusmes quatité: & par ce la nomassmes l'ysle es lieures. — Brief Récit, par Jacques Cartier, 1545, D'Avezac ed. p. 45.

The diffances are here overeftimated. From Hare Island to the northern shore the distance is four nautical miles, and to the fouthern fix.

149 The point nearest to Hare Island is Cape Salmon, which is about fix geographical miles from the Isle au Coudres, and we should here correct the error by reading not one but two leagues. The author did not probably intend to be exact.

the water. We went to the north of this island, 150 which is

twelve leagues distant from Hare Island.

On the Thursday following, we set out from here and came to anchor in a dangerous cove on the northern shore, where there are fome meadows and a little river, 151 and where the favages fometimes erect their cabins. The fame day, continuing to coast along on the northern shore, we were obliged by contrary winds to put in at a place where there were many very dangerous rocks and localities. Here we flayed three days, waiting for fair weather. Both the northern and fouthern shores here are very mountainous, resembling in general those of the Saguenay.

On Sunday, the twenty-fecond, we fet out for the Island of Orleans,152 in the neighborhood of which are many islands on the fouthern shore. These are low and covered with trees, feem to be very pleafant, and, fo far as I could judge, fome of them are one or two leagues and others half a league in length. About these islands there are only rocks and

fhallows, fo that the paffage is very dangerous.

They are diftant fome two leagues from the mainland on the fouth. Thence we coafted along the Island of Orleans on the fouth. This is diftant a league from the mainland on the north, is very pleafant and level, and eight leagues long. The coast on the fouth is low for some two leagues inland; the

country

par Jacques Cartier, 1545, D'Avezac ed. p. 44; alfo Vol. II. of this work, p. 172. Charlevoix fays, whether from trathat "in 1663 an earthquake rooted up a mountain, and threw it upon the Isle au Coudres, which made it one-half larger p. 173.

150 Isle au Coudre. - Vide Brief Récit, than before." - Letters to the Duchess of Lesdiguieres, London, 1763, p. 15.

This was probably about two leagues from the Isle aux Coudres, where dition or on good authority we know not, is a fmall stream which still bears the name La Petite Rivière.

152 Isle d'Orléans. — Vide Vol. II.

country begins to be low at this island, which is perhaps two leagues distant from the fouthern shore. It is very dangerous passing on the northern shore, on account of the fandbanks and rocks between the island and mainland, and it is almost entirely dry here at low tide.

At the end of this island I saw a torrent of water <sup>153</sup> which descended from a high elevation on the River of Canada. Upon this elevation the land is uniform and pleasant, although in the interior high mountains are seen some twenty or twenty-sive leagues distant, and near the first fall of the Saguenay.

We came to anchor at Quebec, a narrow paffage in the River of Canada, which is here fome three hundred paces broad. There is, on the northern fide of this paffage, a very high elevation, which falls off on two fides. Elfewhere the country is uniform and fine, and there are good tracts full of trees, as oaks, cypreffes, birches, firs, and afpens, also wild fruit-trees and vines which, if they were cultivated, would, in my opinion, be as good as our own. Along the shore of Quebec, there are diamonds in some slate-rocks, which are better than those of Alençon. From Quebec to Hare Island is a distance of twenty-nine leagues.

## CHAPTER VI.

of Quebec he calls this "torrent" le grand faut de Montmorency, the grand fall of Montmorency. It was named by Champlain himfelf, and in honor of the "noble, high, and powerful Charles de Montmorency," to whom the journal of this voyage is dedicated. The stream is shallow; "in some places," Charlevoix says, "not more than ankle deep." The grandeur or impressiveness of the fall, if either of these quali-

ties can be attributed to it, arifes from its height and not from the volume of water. — Vide ed. 1632, p. 123. On Bellin's Atlas Maritime, 1764, its height is put down at fixty-five feet. Bayfield's Chart more correctly fays 251 feet above high water fpring tides. — Vide Vol. II. of this work, note 308.

20 154 Nous vinfmes mouiller l'ancre à Quebec, qui est vn destroict de laditt rivière de Canadas. These words very clearly

#### CHAPTER VI.

OF THE POINT ST. CROIX AND THE RIVER BATISCAN. — OF THE RIVERS, ROCKS, ISLANDS, LANDS, TREES, FRUITS, VINES, AND FINE COUNTRY BETWEEN QUEBEC AND THE TROIS RIVIÉRES.



N Monday, the 23d of this month, we fet out from Quebec, where the river begins to widen, fometimes to the extent of a league, then a league and a half or two leagues at most. The country grows finer and finer; it is everywhere

low, without rocks for the most part. The northern shore is covered with rocks and fand-banks; it is necessary to go along the southern one about half a league from the shore. There are some small rivers, not navigable, except for the canoes of the savages, and in which there are a great many falls. We came to anchor at St. Croix, sisteen leagues distant from Quebec; a low point rising up on both sides. The country is sine and level, the soil being the best that I had seen, with extensive woods, containing, however, but little fir and cypress. There are sound there in large numbers vines, pears, hazel-nuts, cherries, red and green currants, and certain little radishes of the size of a small nut, resembling trusses in taste, which are very good when roasted or boiled. All this soil is black, without any rocks, excepting that there

clearly define the meaning of Quebec, which is an Indian word, fignifying a narrowing or a contraction. — *Vide* Vol. II. p. 175, note 309. The breadth of the river at this point is underestimated. It is not far from 1320 feet, or three-quarters of a mile.

anchored, must have been what is now known as Point Platon. Champlain's distances are rough estimates, made under very unfavorable circumstances, and far from accurate. Point Platon is about thirty-five miles from Quebec.

a large quantity of flate. The foil is very foft, and, if well cultivated, would be very productive.

On the north shore there is a river called Batiscan, 156 extending a great distance into the interior, along which the Algonquins sometimes come. On the same shore there is another river, 157 three leagues below St. Croix, which was as far as Jacques Cartier went up the river at the time of his explorations. 158 The above-mentioned river is pleasant, extending a considerable distance inland. All this northern shore is very even and pleasing.

On Wednesday,<sup>159</sup> the 24th, we set out from St. Croix, where we had stayed over a tide and a half in order to proceed the next day by daylight, for this is a peculiar place on account of the great number of rocks in the river, which is almost entirely dry at low tide; but at half-flood one can begin to advance without difficulty, although it is necessary to keep a good watch, lead in hand. The tide rises here nearly three fathoms and a half.

The farther we advanced, the finer the country became. After going fome five leagues and a half, we came to anchor on the northern fhore. On the Wednesday following, we set out from this place, where the country is flatter than the preceding

156 Champlain does not mention the rivers precifely in their order. On his map of 1612, he has Contree de Bastisquan on the west of Trois Rivières. The river Batiscan empties into the St. Lawrence about four miles west of the St. Anne. — Vide Atlas Maritime, by Bellin, 1764; Atlas of the Dominion of Canada, 1875.

157 River Jacques Cartier, which is in fact about five miles eaft of Point Platon.

158 Jacques Cartier did, in fact, afcend the St. Lawrence as far as Hochelaga, or Montreal. The Abbé Laverdière fuggefts that Champlain had not at this time feen the reports of Cartier. Had he feen them he would hardly have made this flatement. Pont Gravé had been here feveral times, and may have been Champlain's incorrect informant. Vide Laverdière in loco.

159 Read Tuesday.

preceding and heavily wooded, as at St. Croix. We passed near a small island covered with vines, and came to anchor on the southern shore, near a little elevation, upon ascending which we found a level country. There is another small island three leagues from St. Croix, near the southern shore. We set out on the following Thursday from this elevation, and passed by a little island near the northern shore. Here I landed at six or more small rivers, up two of which boats can go for a considerable distance. Another is some three hundred feet broad, with some islands at its mouth. It extends far into the interior, and is the deepest of all. These rivers are very pleasant, their shores being covered with trees which resemble nut-trees, and have the same odor; but, as I saw no fruit, I am inclined to doubt. The savages told me that they bear fruit like our own.

Advancing still farther, we came to an island called St. Éloi; 162 also another little island very near the northern shore. We passed between this island and the northern shore, the distance from one to the other being some hundred and sifty feet; that from the same island to the southern shore, a league and a half. We passed also near a river large enough for canoes. All the northern shore is very good, and one can sail along there without obstruction; but he should keep the lead in hand in order to avoid certain points. All this shore

along

161 This river is now known as the Sainte Anne. Champlain fays they named it *Rivière Saincte Marie.*—Vide Quebec ed. Tome III. p. 175; Vol. II. p. 201 of this work.

162 An inconfiderable island near Batifcan, not laid down on the charts.

<sup>160</sup> Richelieu Island, so called by the French, as early as 1635, nearly opposite Dechambeau Point. — Vide Laurie's Chart. It was called St. Croix up to 1633. Laverdière in loco. The Indians called it Ka ouapassinikakhi. — Jésuit Relations, 1635, p. 13.

along which we coasted consists of shifting sands, but a short diftance in the interior the land is good.

The Friday following, we fet out from this island, and continued to coast along the northern shore very near the land, which is low and abundant in trees of good quality as far as the Trois Rivières. Here the temperature begins to be somewhat different from that of St. Croix, since the trees are more forward here than in any other place that I had yet feen. From the Trois Rivières to St. Croix the distance is fifteen leagues. In this river 163 there are fix islands, three of which are very fmall, the others being from five to fix hundred feet long, very pleafant, and fertile fo far as their fmall extent goes. There is one of these in the centre of the above-mentioned river, confronting the River of Canada, and commanding a view of the others, which are diftant from the land from four to five hundred feet on both fides. It is high on the fouthern fide, but lower fomewhat on the northern. This would be, in my judgment, a favorable place in which to make a fettlement, and it could be eafily fortified, for its fituation is ftrong of itself, and it is near a large lake which is only some four leagues distant. This river extends close to the River Saguenay, according to the report of the favages, who go nearly a hundred leagues northward, pafs numerous falls, go overland fome five or fix leagues, enter a lake from which principally

168 The St. Maurice, anciently known plored and reported as shallow and of as Trois Rivièrs, because two islands no importance. He found in it four small in its mouth divide it into three chan- islands, which may afterward have been nels. Its Indian name, according to Père fubdivided into fix. He named it La

Le Jeune, was Metaberoutin. It appears Riviere du Fouez. - Brief Récit, par to be the fame river mentioned by Car- Jacques Cartier, D'Avezac ed. p. 28. tier in his fecond voyage, which he ex- Vide Relations des Fésuites, 1635, p. 13.

the Saguenay has its fource, and thence go to Tadouffac.164 I think, likewife, that the fettlement of the Trois Rivières would be a boon for the freedom of fome tribes, who dare not come this way in confequence of their enemies, the Iroquois, who occupy the entire borders of the River of Canada; but, if it were fettled, these Iroquois and other favages could be made friendly, or, at least, under the protection of this fettlement, these favages would come freely without fear or danger, the Trois Rivières being a place of paffage. All the land that I faw on the northern shore is fandy. We afcended this river for about a league, not being able to proceed farther on account of the ftrong current. We continued on in a skiff, for the fake of observation, but had not gone more than a league when we encountered a very narrow fall, about twelve feet wide, on account of which we could not go farther. All the country that I faw on the borders of this river becomes constantly more mountainous, and contains a great many firs and cypreffes, but few trees of other kinds.

CHAPTER VII.

164 An eastern branch of the St. Maurice River rises in a small lake, from which Lake St. John, which is an affluor fix leagues.

### CHAPTER VII.

LENGTH, BREADTH, AND DEPTH OF A LAKE. - OF THE RIVERS THAT FLOW INTO IT, AND THE ISLANDS IT CONTAINS. - CHARACTER OF THE SUR-ROUNDING COUNTRY. - OF THE RIVER OF THE IROQUOIS AND THE FOR-TRESS OF THE SAVAGES WHO MAKE WAR UPON THEM



N the Saturday following, we fet out from the Trois Rivières, and came to anchor at a lake four leagues diftant. All this region from the Trois Rivières to the entrance to the lake is low and on a level with the water, though fome-

what higher on the fouth fide. The land is very good and the pleafantest yet seen by us. The woods are very open, so that one could eafily make his way through them.

The next day, the 29th of June, 165 we entered the lake. which is fome fifteen leagues long and feven or eight wide. 166 About a league from its entrance, and on the fouth fide, is a river 167 of confiderable fize and extending into the interior fome fixty or eighty leagues. Farther on, on the fame fide. there is another fmall river, extending about two leagues inland, and, far in, another little lake, which has a length of

<sup>165</sup> They entered the lake on St. plain's diffances, founded upon rough Peter's day, the 29th of June, and, for estimates made on a first voyage of diffithis reason doubtles, it was subsequently named Lake St. Peter, which name it still retains. It was at first called Lake Angoulême. — Vide marginal note in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 271. Laverdière cites Thévet to the fame effect.

166 From the point at which the river flows into the lake to its exit, the diftance is about twenty-feven miles and its width about feven miles. Cham-

rivers here mentioned. The fmaller one fhould, we think, have been mentioned first. The larger one was plainly the St. Francis, and the fmaller one the Nicolette.

perhaps three or four leagues.168 On the northern shore, where the land appears very high, you can fee for fome twenty leagues; but the mountains grow gradually fmaller towards the west, which has the appearance of being a flat region. The favages fay that on these mountains the land is for the most part poor. The lake above mentioned is fome three fathoms deep where we passed, which was nearly in the middle. Its longitudinal direction is from east to west, and its lateral one from north to south. I think that it must contain good fish, and such varieties as we have at home. We paffed through it this day, and came to anchor about two leagues up the river, which extends its course farther on, at the entrance to which there are thirty little islands. From what I could observe, some are two leagues in extent, others a league and a half, and fome lefs. They contain numerous nut-trees, which are but little different from our own, and, as I am inclined to think, the nuts are good in their feafon. I faw a great many of them under the trees, which were of two kinds, fome fmall, and others an inch long; but they were decayed. There are also a great many vines on the shores of these islands, most of which, however, when the waters are high, are fubmerged. The country here is fuperior to any I have yet feen.

The last day of June, we set out from here and went to

168 This would feem to be the Baie la Richelieu they are called Isles de Richeof Lake St. Peter.

On Charlevoix's Carte de la Rivière de - Vide Vol. II. p. 206.

Vallière, at the fouthwestern extremity lieu. The more prominent are Monk Island, Isle de Grace, Bear Island, Isle 169 The author here refers to the St. Ignace, and Isle du Pas. Chamislands at the western extremity of Lake plain refers to these islands again in St. Peter, which are very numerous. 1609, with perhaps a fuller description.

the entrance of the River of the Iroquois,170 where the favages were encamped and fortified who were on their way to make war with the former.171 Their fortress is made of a large number of stakes closely pressed against each other. It borders on one fide on the shore of the great river, on the other on that of the River of the Iroquois. Their canoes are drawn up by the fide of each other on the shore, so that they may be able to flee quickly in case of a surprise from the Iroquois; for their fortress is covered with oak bark, and ferves only to give them time to take to their boats.

We went up the River of the Iroquois fome five or fix leagues, but, because of the strong current, could not proceed farther in our barque, which we were also unable to drag overland, on account of the large number of trees on the shore. Finding that we could not proceed farther, we took our skiff to see if the current were less strong above; but, on advancing fome two leagues, we found it still stronger, and were unable to go any farther. 172 As we could do nothing elfe, we returned in our barque. This entire river is fome three to four hundred paces broad, and very unobstructed. We saw there five islands, distant from each other a quarter or half a league, or at most a league, one of which, the nearest, is a league long, the others being very small.

170 The Richelieu, flowing from Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence. For description of this river, see Vol. II. p. 210, note 337. In 1535 the Indians at Montreal pointed out this river as leading to Florida. - Vide Brief Récit, par the skiff, but were not difficult to pass Jacques Cartier, 1545, D'Avezac ed.

Montagnais were at war with the Iro- of this work.

quois, and the favages affembled here were composed of some or all of these

with the Indian canoe, as was fully <sup>171</sup> The Hurons, Algonquins, and proved in 1609. — Vide Vol. II. p. 207 All this country is heavily wooded and low, like that which I had before feen; but there are more firs and cypreffes than in other places. The foil is good, although a little fandy.

The direction of this river is about fouthwest.173

The favages fay that fome fifteen leagues from where we had been there is a fall 174 of great length, around which they carry their canoes about a quarter of a league, when they enter a lake, at the entrance to which there are three islands, with others farther in. It may be fome forty or fifty leagues long and fome twenty-five wide, into which as many as ten rivers flow, up which canoes can go for a confiderable diftance.175 Then, at the other end of this lake, there is another fall, when another lake is entered, of the fame fize as the former, 176 at the extremity of which the Iroquois are encamped. They fay also that there is a river 177 extending to the coast of Florida, a distance of perhaps some hundred or hundred and forty leagues from the latter lake. All the country of the Iroquois is fomewhat mountainous, but has a very good foil, the climate being moderate, without much winter.

CHAPTER VIII.

178 The course of the Richelieu is did not comprehend his Indian informants, or they greatly exaggerated the comparative fize of this lake.

177 The Hudson River. - Vide Vol. II. p. 218, note 347.

nearly from the fouth to the north. 174 The rapids of Chambly.

<sup>175</sup> Lake Champlain, discovered by him in 1609. - Vide Vol. II. ch. ix. 176 Lake George. Champlain either

#### CHAPTER VIII.

ARRIVAL AT THE FALL. - DESCRIPTION OF THE SAME AND ITS REMARK-ABLE CHARACTER. - REPORTS OF THE SAVAGES IN REGARD TO THE END OF THE GREAT RIVER.



ETTING out from the River of the Iroquois, we came to anchor three leagues from there, on the northern shore. All this country is low, and filled with the various kinds of trees which I have before mentioned.

On the first day of July we coasted along the northern fhore, where the woods are very open; more fo than in any place we had before feen. The foil is also everywhere favorable for cultivation.

I went in a canoe to the fouthern shore, where I saw a large number of islands, 178 which abound in fruits, such as grapes, walnuts, hazel-nuts, a kind of fruit refembling cheftnuts, and cherries; also in oaks, aspens, poplar, hops, ash, maple, beech, cypress, with but few pines and firs. There were, moreover, other fine-looking trees, with which I am not acquainted. There are also a great many strawberries, raspberries, and currants, red, green, and blue, together with numerous fmall fruits which grow in thick grafs. There are also many wild beafts, such as orignacs, stags, hinds, does, bucks, bears, porcupines, hares, foxes, beavers, otters, muskrats, and fome other kinds of animals with which I am not acquainted, which are good to eat, and on which the favages fubfift.179

178 Isle Plat, and at least ten other iflets along the shore before reaching catalogue of fruits, trees, and animals the Verchères. - Vide Laurie's Chart.

179 The reader will observe that the mentioned above, includes only fuch as

We passed an island having a very pleasant appearance, fome

are important in commerce. They are, we think, without an exception, of American species, and, confequently, the names given by Champlain are not accurately descriptive. We notice them in order, and in italics give the name affigned by Champlain in the text.

Grapes. Vignes, probably the frost grape, Vitis cordifolia. - Pickering's Chronological History of Plants, p. 875.

Walnuts. Noix, this name is given in France to what is known in commerce as the English or European walnut, Juglans regia, a Persian fruit now cultivated in most countries in Europe. For want of a better, Champlain used this name to fignify probably the butternut, Juglans cinerea, and five varieties of the hickory; the shag-bark, Carya alba, the mocker-nut, Carya tomentofa, the small-fruited Carya microcarpa, the pig-nut, Carya glabra, bitter-nut, Carya amara, all of which are exclusively American fruits, and are still found in the valley of the St. Lawrence. - MS. Letter of J. M. Le Moine, of Quebec; Jeffrie's Natural History of French Dominions in America, London, 1760, p. 41.

Hazel-nuts, noysettes. The American filbert or hazel-nut, Corylus Americana. The flavor is fine, but the fruit is fmaller and the shell thicker than that

of the European filbert.

"Kind of fruit refembling cheftnuts." This was probably the cheftnut, Castanea Americana. The fruit much refembles the European, but is fmaller and fweeter.

Cherries, cerifes. Three kinds may here be included, the wild red cherry, Prunus Pennsylvanica, the choke cherry, Prunus Virginiana, and the wild black cherry, Prunus serotina.

Oaks, chefnes. Probably the more noticeable varieties, as the white oak, Quercus alba, and red oak, Quercus rubra.

Afpens, trembles. The American afpen, Populus tremuloides.

Poplar, pible. For piboule, as fuggested by Laverdière, a variety of poplar.

Hops, houblon. Humulus lupulus, found in northern climates, differing from the hop of commerce, which was imported from Europe.

Ash, fresne. The white ash, Fraxinus Americana, and black ash, Fraxi-

nus sambucifolia.

Maple, érable. The tree here obferved was probably the rock or fugar maple, Acer faccharinum. Several other species belong to this region.

Beech, hestre. The American beech, Fagus ferruginea, of which there is but one species. - Vide, Vol. II. p. 113, note

Cypress, cyprez. - Vide antea, note

Strawberry, fraises. The wild strawberry, Fragaria vesca, and Fragaria Virginiana, both species, are found in this region. - Vide Pickering's Chronological History of Plants, p. 873.

Raspberries, framboises. The American raspberry, Rubus strigosus.

Currants, red, green, and blue, groizelles rouges, vertes, and bleues. The first mentioned is undoubtedly the red currant of our gardens, Ribes rubrum. The fecond may have been the unripe fruit of the former. The third doubtless the black currant, Ribes nigrum, which grows throughout Canada. - Vide Chronological History of Plants, Pickering, p. 871; also Vol. II. note 138.

Orignas, fo written in the original xt. This is, I think, the earliest mention of this animal under this Algonquin name. It was written, by the French, fometimes orignac, orignat, and orignal .- Vide Jésuit Relations, 1635, p. 16; 1636, p. 11, et passim; Sagard, Hist. du Canada, 1636, p. 749; Description

fome four leagues long and about half a league wide.180

faw

de l'Amerique, par Denys, 1672, p. 27. Orignac was used interchangeably with élan, the name of the elk of northern Europe, regarded by fome as the fame species. - Vide Mammals, by Spenfer F. Baird. But the orignac of Champlain was the moofe, Alce Americanus, peculiar to the northern latitudes of America. Moofe is derived from the Indian word moofoa. This animal is the largest of the Cervus family. The males are faid to attain the weight of eleven or twelve hundred pounds. Its horns fometimes weigh fifty or fixty pounds. It is exceedingly fly and difficult to capture.

Stags, cerfs. This is undoubtedly a reference to the caribou, Cervus tarandus. Sagard (1636) calls it Caribou ou afne Sauuages, caribou or wilde afs.—Hift. du Canada, p. 750. La Hontan, 1686, fays harts and caribous are killed both in fummer and winter after the fame manner with the elks (moofes), excepting that the caribous, which are a kind of wild affes, make an eafy escape when the snow is hard by virtue of their broad feet (Voyages, p. 59). There are two varieties, the Cervus tarandus arcticus and the Cervus tarandus fylvestris. The latter is that here

referred to and the larger and finer

animal, and is still found in the forests

Hinds, biches, the female of cerfs, and does, dains, the female of daim, the fallow deer. These may refer to the females of the two preceding species, or to additional species as the common red deer, Cervus Virginianus, and some other species or variety. La Hontan in the passage cited above speaks of three, the elk which we have shown to be the moose, the well-known caribou, and the hart, which was undoubtedly the common red deer of this region, Cervus

Virginianus. I learn from Mr. J. M. LeMoine of Quebec, that the Wapiti, Elaphus Canadensis was found in the valley of the St. Lawrence a hundred and forty years ago, several horns and bones having been dug up in the forest, especially in the Ottawa district. It is now extinct here, but is still found in the neighborhood of Lake Winipeg and further west. Cartier, in 1535, speaks of dains and cerfs, doubtless referring to different species.—Vide Brief Récit, D'Avezac ed. p. 31 verso.

Bears, ours. The American black bear, Urfus Americanus. The grifly bear, Urfus ferox, was found on the Island of Anticosti.—Vide Hift. du Canada, par Sagard, 1636, pp. 148, 750. La Hontan's Voyages, 1687, p. 66.

Porcupines, porcy-efpics. The Canada porcupine, Hyfrix pilofus. A nocturnal rodent quadruped, armed with barbed quills, his chief defence when attacked by other animals.

Hares, lapins. The American hare, Lepus Americanus.

Foxes, reynards. Of the fox, Canis vulpes, there are feveral species in Canada. The most common is of a carroty red color, Vulpes fulvus. The American cross fox, Canis decustatus, and the black or filver fox, Canis argentatus, are varieties that may have been found there at that period, but are now rarely if ever seen.

Beavers, castors. The American beaver, Castor Americanus. The fur of the beaver was of all others the most important in the commerce of New France.

Otters, loutres. This has reference only to the river otter, Lutra Canadensis. The sea otter, Lutra marina, is only

180 The Verchères.

...

faw on the fouthern shore two high mountains, which appeared to be some twenty leagues in the interior. The savages told me that this was the first fall of the River of the

Iroquois.

On Wednesday following, we set out from this place, and made some five or six leagues. We saw numerous islands; the land on them was low, and they were covered with trees like those of the River of the Iroquois. On the following day we advanced some few leagues, and passed by a great number of islands, 182 beautiful on account of the many meadows, which are likewise to be seen on the mainland as well as on the islands. The trees here are all very small in comparison with those we had already passed.

We arrived finally, on the fame day, having a fair wind, at the entrance to the fall. We came to an island almost in the middle of this entrance, which is a quarter of a league long. We passed to the south of it, where there were from three to five feet of water only, with a fathom or two in some places, after which we found suddenly only three or four feet. There are many rocks and little islands without any wood at all, and on a level with the water. From the lower extremity of the above-mentioned island in the middle of the entrance, the water begins to come with great force. Although

ve

found in America on the north-west Pacific coast.

Mukrat, rats musquets. The muskrat, Fiber zibethecus, sometimes called musquash from the Algonquin word, mos sko essay on, is sound in three varieties, the black, and rarely the pied and white. For a description of this animal vide Le Feune, Fésuit Relations, 1635, pp. 18, 19.

181 Summits of the Green Mountains. Marie. - Vide Laurie's Chart.

182 From the Verchères to Montreal, the St. Lawrence is full of islands, among them St. Therefe and nameless others.

188 This was the Island of St. Hélène, a favorite name given to several other places. He subsequently called it St. Hélène, probably from Hélène Boullé, his wife. Between it and the mainland on the north flows the Rapide de Ste. Marie. — Vide Laurie's Chart.

we had a very favorable wind, yet we could not, in spite of all our efforts, advance much. Still, we passed this island at the entrance of the fall. Finding that we could not proceed, we came to anchor on the northern shore, opposite a little island, which abounds in most of the fruits before mentioned.184 We at once got our skiff ready, which had been expressly made for passing this fall, and Sieur Du Pont Gravé and myfelf embarked in it, together with fome favages whom we had brought to show us the way. After leaving our barque, we had not gone three hundred feet before we had to get out, when fome failors got into the water and dragged our skiff over. The canoe of the favages went over easily. We encountered a great number of little rocks on a level with the water, which we frequently ftruck.

There are here two large iflands; one on the northern fide, fome fifteen leagues long and almost as broad,185 begins in the River of Canada, fome twelve leagues towards the River of the Iroquois, and terminates beyond the fall. The island on the fouth shore is some four leagues long and half a league wide. 186 There is, befides, another ifland 187 near that on the north, which is perhaps half a league long and a quarter wide. There is still another small island between that on the north and the other farther fouth, where we paffed the entrance to the fall. 188 This being paffed, there is a kind

<sup>184</sup> This landing was on the prefent fite of the city of Montreal, and the little island, according to Laverdière, is now joined to the mainland by quays.

185 The island of Montreal, here re-ferred to, not including the Isle Jésus,

is about thirty miles long and nine miles in its greatest width.

<sup>186</sup> The Isle Perrot is about feven or eight miles long and about three miles

<sup>187</sup> Island of St. Paul, fometimes called Nuns' Island.

<sup>188</sup> Round Island, situated just below St. Hélène's, on the east, say about fifty yards diftant.

of lake, in which are all these islands, and which is some five leagues long and almost as wide, and which contains a large number of little islands or rocks. Near the fall there is a mountain,189 visible at a confiderable distance, also a small river coming from this mountain and falling into the lake.190 On the fouth, fome three or four mountains are feen, which feem to be fifteen or fixteen leagues off in the interior. There are also two rivers; the one 191 reaching to the first lake of the River of the Iroquois, along which the Algonquins fometimes go to make war upon them, the other near the fall and extending fome feet inland. 192

On approaching this fall 193 with our little skiff and the canoe, I faw, to my aftonishment, a torrent of water descending with an impetuofity fuch as I have never before witneffed, although it is not very high, there being in some places only a fathom or two, and at most but three. It defcends

city of Montreal, 700 feet in height, dif-covered in October, 1535, by Jacques Cartier, to which he gave the name after which the city is called. "Nous nomasmes la dicte montaigne le mont Royal." - Brief Récit, 1545, D'Avezac's ed. p. 23. When Cartier made his vifit to this place in 1535, he found on or near the fite of the prefent city of Montreal the famous Indian town called Hochelaga. Champlain does not speak

other from the fouth fide of the mountain. Bellin and Charlevoix denominate it La Petite Rivière. These fmall Lachine rapids.

189 The mountain in the rear of the streams do not appear on modern maps,

Dominion of Canada, 1875.

191 The River St. Lambert, according to Laverdière, a fmall stream from which by a short portage the Indian with his canoe could eafily reach Little River, which flows into the bafin of Chambly, the lake referred to by Champlain. of it in the text, and it had of courfe entirely disappeared. — Vide Cartier's description in Brief Récit, above cited.

190 Rivière St. Pierre. This little river is formed by two small streams flowing one from the north and the cant force the fourth of the mount.

198 The Falls of St. Louis, or the

fcends as if by fteps, and at each defcent there is a remarkable boiling, owing to the force and fwiftness with which the water traverses the fall, which is about a league in length. There are many rocks on all fides, while near the middle there are fome very narrow and long islands. There are rapids not only by the fide of those islands on the fouth fhore, but also by those on the north, and they are so dangerous that it is beyond the power of man to pass through with a boat, however fmall. We went by land through the woods a distance of a league, for the purpose of seeing the end of the falls, where there are no more rocks or rapids; but the water here is fo fwift that it could not be more fo, and this current continues three or four leagues; fo that it is impoffible to imagine one's being able to go by boats through these falls. But any one defiring to pass them, should provide himself with the canoe of the favages, which a man can eafily carry. For to make a portage by boat could not be done in a fufficiently brief time to enable one to return to France, if he defired to winter there. Befides this first fall, there are ten others, for the most part hard to pass; so that it would be a matter of great difficulty and labor to fee and do by boat what one might propose to himself, except at great coft, and the rifk of working in vain. But in the canoes of the favages one can go without reftraint, and quickly, everywhere, in the fmall as well as large rivers. So that, by using canoes as the favages do, it would be possible to see all there is, good and bad, in a year or two.

The territory on the fide of the fall where we went overland confifts, fo far as we faw it, of very open woods, where one can go with his armor without much difficulty. The air is milder and the foil better than in any place I have before feen. There are extensive woods and numerous fruits, as in all the places before mentioned. It is in latitude 45° and fome minutes.

Finding that we could not advance farther, we returned to our barque, where we asked our savages in regard to the continuation of the river, which I directed them to indicate with their hands; fo, also, in what direction its fource was. They told us that, after passing the first fall, 194 which we had feen, they go up the river fome ten or fifteen leagues with their canoes, 195 extending to the region of the Algonquins. fome fixty leagues diftant from the great river, and that they then pass five falls, extending, perhaps, eight leagues from the first to the last, there being two where they are obliged to carry their canoes. 196 The extent of each fall may be an eighth of a league, or a quarter at most. After this, they enter a lake, 197 perhaps fome fifteen or fixteen leagues long. Beyond this they enter a river a league broad, and in which they go feveral leagues. 198 Then they enter another lake fome four or five leagues long. 199 After reaching the end of this, they pass five other falls,200 the distance from the first to the last being about twenty-five or thirty leagues.

Three

195 Paffing through Lake St. Louis, they come to the River Ottawa, fome-times called the River of the Algonquins.

197 Lake St. Francis, about twenty-five miles long.

198 Long Saut.

199 Hardly a lake but rather the river uninterrupted by falls or rapids.

<sup>194</sup> Lachine Rapids.

quins.

106 The Cafcades, Cedres and Rapids du Côteau du Lac with fubdivifions. Laverdière. La Hontan mentions four rapids between Lake St. Louis and St. Francis, as Cafcades, Le Cataracte du Trou, Sauts des Cedres, and du Buisson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> The fmaller rapids, the Galops, Point Cardinal, and others.—Vide La Hontan's description of his passage up this river, New Voyages to N. America, London, 1735. Vol. I. p. 30.

Three of these they pass by carrying their canoes, and the other two by dragging them in the water, the current not being fo ftrong nor bad as in the case of the others. Of all these falls, none is so difficult to pass as the one we saw. Then they come to a lake fome eighty leagues long,201 with a great many islands; the water at its extremity being fresh and the winter mild. At the end of this lake they pass a fall,202 fomewhat high and with but little water flowing over. Here they carry their canoes overland about a quarter of a league, in order to pass the fall, afterwards entering another lake 203 fome fixty leagues long, and containing very good water. Having reached the end, they come to a strait 204 two leagues broad and extending a confiderable diffance into the interior. They faid they had never gone any farther, nor feen the end of a lake 205 fome fifteen or fixteen leagues diftant from where they had been, and that those relating this to them had not feen any one who had feen it; that fince it was fo large, they would not venture out upon it, for fear

<sup>201</sup> Lake Ontario. It is one hundred water and the perpendicular fall of 160 and eighty miles long.—Garneau.

and eighty miles long.—Garneau.

202 Niagara Falls. Champlain does not appear to have obtained from the Indians any adequate idea of the grandeur and magnificence of this fall. The expression, qui est quelque peu eleué, où il y a peu d'eau, laquelle defcend, would imply that it was of moderate if not of an inferior character. This may have arisen from the want of a suitable medium of communication, but it is more likely that the intensely practical nature of the Indian did not enable him to appreciate or even observe the beauties by which he was surrounded. The immense volume of

water and the perpendicular fall of 160 feet render it unfurpaffed in grandeur by any other cataract in the world. Although Champlain appears never to have feen this fall, he had evidently obtained a more accurate defcription of it before 1629.—Vide note No. 90 to map in ed. 1632.

208 Lake Erie, 250 miles long. — Gar-

204 Detroit river, or the ftrait which connects Lake Erie and Lake St. Clair.
 Atlas of the Dominion of Canada.

<sup>205</sup> Lake Huron, denominated on early maps *Mer Douce*, the fweet fea of which the knowledge of the Indian guides was very imperfect.

fear of being furprifed by a tempest or gale. They fay that in fummer the fun fets north of this lake, and in winter about the middle; that the water there is very bad, like that of this fea.206

I asked them whether from this last lake, which they had feen, the water descended continuously in the river extending to Gaspé. They said no; that it was from the third lake only that the water came to Gaspé, but that beyond the last fall, which is of confiderable extent, as I have faid, the water was almost still, and that this lake might take its course by other rivers extending inland either to the north or fouth, of which there are a large number there, and of which they do not fee the end. Now, in my judgment, if fo many rivers flow into this lake, it must of necessity be that, having so small a discharge at this fall, it should flow off into some very large river. But what leads me to believe that there is no river through which this lake flows, as would be expected, in view of the large number of rivers that flow into it, is the fact that the favages have not feen any river taking its courfe into the interior, except at the place where they have been. This leads me to believe that it is the fouth fea which is falt, as they fay. But one is not to attach credit to this opinion without more complete evidence than the little adduced.

This is all that I have actually feen respecting this matter, or heard from the favages in response to our interrogatories.

CHAPTER IX.

vifited. The falt fea to which they oc- Lawrence.

206 The Indians with whom Cham- cafionally referred was probably Hudplain came in contact on this hasty fon's Bay, of which some knowledge visit in 1603 appear to have had some may have been transmitted from the notion of a falt fea, or as they fay tribes dwelling near it to others more water that is very bad like the fea, remote, and thus paffing from tribe to lying in an indefinite region, which tribe till it reached, in rather an indeneither they nor their friends had ever finite shape, those dwelling on the St.

### CHAPTER IX.

RETURN FROM THE FALL TO TADOUSSAC. — TESTIMONY OF SEVERAL SAVAGES IN REGARD TO THE LENGTH AND COMMENCEMENT OF THE GREAT RIVER OF CANADA, NUMBER OF THE FALLS, AND THE LAKES WHICH IT TRAVERSES.



E fet out from the fall on Friday, the fourth of June, 207 and returned the fame day to the river of the Iroquois. On Sunday, the fixth of June, we fet out from here, and came to anchor at the lake. On Monday following, we

came to anchor at the Trois Rivières. The fame day, we made fome four leagues beyond the Trois Rivières. The following Tuefday we reached Quebec, and the next day the end of the ifland of Orleans, where the Indians, who were encamped on the mainland to the north, came to us. We queftioned two or three Algonquins, in order to afcertain whether they would agree with those whom we had interrogated in regard to the extent and commencement of the River of Canada.

They faid, indicating it by figns, that two or three leagues after paffing the fall which we had feen, there is, on the northern shore, a river in their territory; that, continuing in the faid great river, they pass a fall, where they carry their canoes; that they then pass five other falls comprising, from the first to the last, some nine or ten leagues, and that these falls are not hard to pass, as they drag their canoes in the

<sup>207</sup> As they were at Lake St. Peter on the 29th of June, it is plain that this should read *July*.

most of them, except at two, where they carry them. After that, they enter a river which is a fort of lake, comprifing fome fix or feven leagues; and then they pass five other falls, where they drag their canoes as before, except at two, where they carry them as at the first; and that, from the first to the last, there are some twenty or twenty-five leagues. Then they enter a lake fome hundred and fifty leagues in length, and fome four or five leagues from the entrance of this lake there is a river 208 extending northward to the Algonquins, and another towards the Iroquois,209 where the faid Algonquins and the Iroquois make war upon each other. And a little farther along, on the fouth shore of this lake, there is another river,210 extending towards the Iroquois; then, arriving at the end of this lake, they come to another fall, where they carry their canoes; beyond this, they enter another very large lake, as long, perhaps, as the first. The latter they have vifited but very little, they faid, and have heard that, at the end of it, there is a fea of which they have not feen the end, nor heard that any one has, but that the water at the point to which they have gone is not falt, but that they are not able to judge of the water beyond, fince they have not advanced any farther; that the course of the water is from the west towards the east, and that they do not know whether, beyond the lakes they have feen, there is another watercourse towards the west; that the sun fets on the right of this lake; that is, in my judgment, northwest more or less; and that, at the first lake, the water never freezes, which leads

208 This river extending north from Lake Ontario is the river-like Bay of Quinté.

209 The Ofwego River.
210 The Genefee River, after which they come to Niagara Falls.

leads me to conclude that the weather there is moderate.<sup>217</sup> They faid, moreover, that all the territory of the Algonquins is low land, containing but little wood; but that on the fide of the Iroquois the land is mountainous, although very good and productive, and better than in any place they had feen. The Iroquois dwell fome fifty or fixty leagues from this great lake. This is what they told me they had feen, which differs but very little from the statement of the former favages.

On the fame day we went about three leagues, nearly to the Isle aux Coudres. On Thursday, the tenth of the month, we came within about a league and a half of Hare Island, on the north shore, where other Indians came to our barque, among whom was a young Algonquin who had travelled a great deal in the aforefaid great lake. We questioned him very particularly, as we had the other favages. He told us that, fome two or three leagues beyond the fall we had feen, there is a river extending to the place where the Algonquins dwell, and that, proceeding up the great river, there are five falls, some eight or nine leagues from the first to the last, past three of which they carry their canoes, and in the other two drag them; that each one of these falls is, perhaps, a quarter of a league long. Then they enter a lake fome fifteen leagues in extent, after which they pass five other falls, extending from the first to the last some twenty to twenty-five leagues, only two of which they pass in their canoes, while at the three others they drag them. After this, they enter a very large lake, some three hundred leagues in length. Proceeding

<sup>211</sup> We can eafily recognize Lake although this account is exceedingly Ontario, Lake Erie and Niagara Falls, confused and inaccurate.

Proceeding fome hundred leagues in this lake, they come to a very large ifland, beyond which the water is good; but that, upon going fome hundred leagues farther, the water has become fomewhat bad, and, upon reaching the end of the lake, it is perfectly falt. That there is a fall about a league wide, where a very large mass of water falls into faid lake; that, when this fall is paffed, one fees no more land on either fide, but only a fea fo large that they have never feen the end of it, nor heard that any one has; that the fun fets on the right of this lake, at the entrance to which there is a river extending towards the Algonquins, and another towards the Iroquois, by way of which they go to war; that the country of the Iroquois is fomewhat mountainous, though very fertile, there being there a great amount of Indian corn and other products which they do not have in their own country. That the territory of the Algonquins is low and fertile.

I asked them whether they had knowledge of any mines. They told us that there was a nation called the good Iroquois,212 who come to barter for the articles of merchandise which the French veffels furnish the Algonquins, who fay that, towards the north, there is a mine of pure copper, fome bracelets made from which they showed us, which they had obtained from the good Iroquois; 213 that, if we wished

Vol. II. p. 236: Vide a brochure on Pre-historic Copper Implements, by the editor, reprinted from the New England

Historical and Genealogical Register for Jan. 1879; also reprinted in the Collections of Wis. Hift. Soc., Vol. VIII. 1880.

212 Reference is here made to the subsequently presented to Champlain. -Hurons who were nearly related to the Iroquois. They were called by the French the good Iroquois in diffinction from the Iroquois in the State of New York, with whom they were at war. 218 A specimen of pure copper was

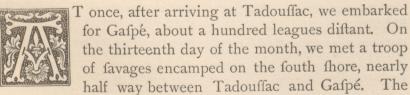
to go there, they would guide those who might be deputed for this object.

This is all that I have been able to afcertain from all parties, their statements differing but little from each other, except that the second ones who were interrogated said that they had never drunk salt water; whence it appears that they had not proceeded so far in said lake as the others. They differ, also, but little in respect to the distance, some making it shorter and others longer; so that, according to their statement, the distance from the sall where we had been to the salt sea, which is possibly the South Sea, is some four hundred leagues. It is not to be doubted, then, according to their statement, that this is none other than the South Sea, the sun setting where they say.

On Friday, the tenth of this month,<sup>214</sup> we returned to Tadouffac, where our veffel lay.

## CHAPTER X.

Voyage from Tadoussac to Isle Percée. — Description of Moluës Bay, the Island of Bonaventure, Bay of Chaleur: Also several Rivers, Lakes, and Countries where there are various kinds of Mines.



name of the Sagamore who led them is Armouchides, who

214 Friday, July 11th.

is regarded as one of the most intelligent and daring of the favages. He was going to Tadoussac to barter their arrows and originac meat 215 for beavers and martens 216 with the

Montagnais, Etechemins, and Algonquins.

On the 15th day of the month we arrived at Gaspé, situated on the northern shore of a bay, and about a league and a half from the entrance. This bay is some seven or eight leagues long, and four leagues broad at its entrance. There is a river there extending some thirty leagues inland.217 Then we faw another bay, called Molies Bay, 218 fome three leagues long and as many wide at its entrance. Thence we come to Isle Percée,219 a fort of rock, which is very high and fleep on two fides, with a hole through which shallops and boats can pass at high tide. At low tide, you can go from the mainland to this island, which is only some four or five hundred feet diftant. There is also another island, about a league foutheast of Isle Percée, called the Island of Bonaventure, which is, perhaps, half a league long. Gaspé, Moluës Bay, and Isle Percée are all places where dry and green fishing is carried on.

Beyond Isle Percée there is a bay, called Baye de Chaleurs, 220

extending

215 Orignac. Moofe. - Vide antea, plied on account of the excellent fish

note 179.
216 Martens, martres. This may include the pine-marten, Mustela martes, and the pecan or fisher, Mustela Canadensis, both of which were found in large numbers in New France.

217 York River.

<sup>218</sup> Molues Bay, *Baye des Moluës*. Now known as Mal-Bay, from *morue*, codfish, a corruption from the old orthography molue and baie, codfish bay,

of the neighborhood. The harbor of Mal-Bay is enclosed between two points, Point Peter on the north, and a high rocky promontory on the fouth, whose cliffs rife to the height of 666 feet. -Vide Charts of the St. Lawrence by Captain H. W. Bayfield.

219 Ifle Percée. — Vide Vol. II. note

290. Baye de Chaleurs. This bay was fo named by Jacques Cartier on account the name having been originally ap- of the excessive heat, chaleur, experienced

extending fome eighty leagues west-southwest inland, and fome fifteen leagues broad at its entrance. The Canadian favages fay that fome fixty leagues along the fouthern shore of the great River of Canada, there is a little river called Mantanne, extending fome eighteen leagues inland, at the end of which they carry their canoes about a league by land, and come to the Baye de Chaleurs,221 whence they go fometimes to Isle Percée. They also go from this bay to Tregate 222 and Misamichy.223

Proceeding along this coaft, you pass a large number of rivers, and reach a place where there is one called Souricoua, by way of which Sieur Prevert went to explore a copper mine. They go with their canoes up this river for two or three days, when they go overland fome two or three leagues to the faid mine, which is fituated on the feashore fouthward. At the entrance to the above-mentioned river there is an island 224 about a league out, from which island to Isle Percée is a diftance of fome fixty or feventy leagues. Then, continuing along this coast, which runs towards the east, you come to a strait about two leagues broad and twenty-five

rienced there on his first voyage in 1634. Big Tracadie River, this place may be —Vide Voyage de Jacques Cartier, Mechelant, ed. Paris, 1865, p. 50. The depth of the bay is about ninety miles and its width at the entrance is about eighteen. It receives the Riftigouche and other rivers.

221 By a portage of about three leagues from the river Matane to the Matapedia, the Bay of Chaleur may be reached by

222 Tregaté, Tracadie. By a very short portage between Bass River and the reached.

228 Mifamichy, Miramichi. This is reached by a fhort portage from the Nepifiguit to the head waters of the Miramichi.

224 It is obvious from this description that the island above mentioned is Shediac Island, and the river was one of the feveral emptying into Shediac Bay, and named Souricoua, as by it the Indians went to the Souriquois or Micmacs in Nova Scotia.

long.<sup>225</sup> On the east fide of it is an island named St. Lawrence, <sup>226</sup> on which is Cape Breton, and where a tribe of savages called the Souriquois winter. Passing the strait of the Island of St. Lawrence, and coasting along the shore of La Cadie, you come to a bay <sup>227</sup> on which this copper mine is situated. Advancing still farther, you find a river <sup>228</sup> extending some sixty or eighty leagues inland, and nearly to the Lake of the Iroquois, along which the savages of the coast of La

Cadie go to make war upon the latter.

One would accomplish a great good by discovering, on the coast of Florida, some passage running near to the great lake before referred to, where the water is salt; not only on account of the navigation of vessels, which would not then be exposed to so great risks as in going by way of Canada, but also on account of the shortening of the distance by more than three hundred leagues. And it is certain that there are rivers on the coast of Florida, not yet discovered, extending into the interior, where the land is very good and fertile, and containing very good harbors. The country and coast of Florida may have a different temperature and be more productive in fruits and other things than that which I have seen; but there cannot be there any lands more level nor of a better quality than those we have seen.

The favages fay that, in this great Baye de Chaleurs, there is a river extending fome twenty leagues into the interior,

a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> The Strait of Canfeau. <sup>226</sup> St. Lawrence. This island had then borne the name of the *Island of* Cape Breton for a hundred years. <sup>227</sup> The Bay of Fundy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> The River St. John by which they reached the St. Lawrence, and through the River Richelieu the lake of the Iroquois. It was named Lake Champlain in 1609. *Vide* Vol. II. p. 223.

at the extremity of which is a lake 229 fome twenty leagues in extent, but with very little water; that it dries up in fummer, when they find in it, a foot or foot and a half under ground, a kind of metal refembling the filver which I showed them, and that in another place, near this lake, there is a copper mine.

This is what I learned from these favages.

### CHAPTER XI.

RETURN FROM ISLE PERCÉE TO TADOUSSAC. - DESCRIPTION OF THE COVES, HARBORS, RIVERS, ISLANDS, ROCKS, FALLS, BAYS, AND SHAL-LOWS ALONG THE NORTHERN SHORE.



E set out from Isle Percée on the nineteenth of the month, on our return to Tadoussac. When we were fome three leagues from Cape Évêque 230 we encountered a tempest, which lasted two days, and obliged us to put into a

large cove and wait for fair weather. The next day we fet out from there and again encountered another tempest. Not wishing to put back, and thinking that we could make our way, we proceeded to the north shore on the 28th of July, and came to anchor in a cove which is very dangerous on account of its rocky banks. This cove is in latitude 51° and fome minutes.231

The

<sup>229</sup> By traverfing the Riftigouche River, the Matapediac may be reached, of the St. Lawrence, they entered, acthe lake here defignated.

identified.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> On paffing to the northern shore cording to the conjecture of Laverdière, 280 Evefque. This cape cannot be Moisie Bay. It seems to us, however, more likely that they entered a cove fome-

The next day we anchored near a river called St. Margaret, where the depth is some three fathoms at full tide, and a fathom and a half at low tide. It extends a confiderable diftance inland. So far as I observed the eastern shore inland, there is a waterfall fome fifty or fixty fathoms in extent, flowing into this river; from this comes the greater part of the water composing it. At its mouth there is a fand-bank, where there is, perhaps, at low tide, half a fathom of water. All along the eastern shore there is moving fand; and here there is a point fome half a league from the above mentioned river,232 extending out half a league, and on the western shore there is a little island. This place is in latitude 50°. All these lands are very poor, and covered with firs. The country is fomewhat high, but not fo much fo as that on the fouth fide.

After going fome three leagues, we passed another river,233 apparently very large, but the entrance is, for the most part, filled with rocks. Some eight leagues distant from there, is a point 234 extending out a league and a half, where there is only a fathom and a half of water. Some four leagues

haps near the west channel to the Seven Islands Bay, between Point Croix and Point Chaffé, where they might have found good anchorage and a rocky fhore. The true latitude is fay, about 50° 9′. The latitude 51°, as given by Champlain, would cut the coaft of La-River and Point De Monts of fuch ex-

brador, and is obviously an error.

282 This was probably the river still bearing the name of St. Margaret. There is a fandy point extending out on the east and a peninsula on the western shore, which may then have been an

where among the Seven Islands, per- island formed by the moving fands. -Vide Bayfield's charts.

288 Rock River, in latitude 50° 2'. <sup>284</sup> Point De Monts. The Abbé Latent, and where there is fo little water. As to the diftance, Champlain may have been deceived by the currents, or there may have been, as fuggefted by Laverdière, a typographical error. The diftance to Point De Monts is, in fact, eighteen leagues.

beyond this point, there is another, where there is water enough.235 All this coast is low and fandy.

Some four leagues beyond there is a cove into which a river enters.<sup>236</sup> This place is capable of containing a large number of veffels on its western side. There is a low point extending out about a league. One must fail along the eastern fide for fome three hundred paces in order to enter. This is the best harbor along all the northern coast; yet it is very dangerous failing there on account of the shallows and fandbanks along the greater part of the coast for nearly two leagues from the shore.

Some fix leagues farther on is a bay,237 where there is a fandy island. This entire bay is very shoal, except on the eastern fide, where there are some four fathoms of water, In the channel which enters this bay, fome four leagues from there, is a fine cove, into which a river flows. There is a large fall on it. All this coast is low and fandy. Some five leagues beyond, is a point extending out about half a league,238 in which there is a cove; and from one point to the other is a diftance of three leagues; which, however, is only shoals with little water.

Some two leagues farther on, is a ftrand with a good har-

285 Point St. Nicholas. - Laverdière. of fand, which has fince been fwept This is probably the point referred to, although the diftance is again three

times too great.

236 The Manicouagan River.—Laverdière. The distance is still excessive, but in other respects the description in the text identifies this river. On Bellin's map this river is called Rivière Noire.

237 Outard Bay. The ifland does not

now appear. It was probably an island

away, unless it was the fandy peninfula lying between Outard and Manicouagan Rivers. The fall is laid down on Bayfield's chart.

288 Bersimis Point. Walker and Miles have Betsiamites, Bellin, Bersiamites, Laverdière, Betsiamis, and Bayfield, Berfimis. The text describes the locality with fufficient accuracy.

bor and a little river, in which there are three islands, <sup>239</sup> and in which vessels could take shelter.

Some three leagues from there, is a fandy point,<sup>240</sup> extending out about a league, at the end of which is a little ifland. Then, going on to the Efquemin,<sup>241</sup> you come to two fmall, low iflands and a little rock near the fhore. These islands are about half a league from the Efquemin, which is a very bad harbor, surrounded by rocks and dry at low tide, and, in order to enter, one must tack and go in behind a little rocky point, where there is room enough for only one vessel. A little farther on, is a river extending some little distance into the interior; this is the place where the Basques carry on the whale-fishery.<sup>242</sup> To tell the truth, the harbor is of no account at all.

We went thence to the harbor of Tadoussac, on the third of August. All these lands above-mentioned along the shore are low, while the interior is high. They are not so attractive or fertile as those on the south shore, although lower.

This is precifely what I have feen of this northern shore.

CHAPTER XII.

<sup>289</sup> Jeremy Island. Bellin, 1764, lays down three islands, but Bayfield, 1834, has but one. Two of them appear to have been fwept away or united in one. <sup>240</sup> Three leagues would indicate Point Colombier. But Laverdière fuggests Mille Vaches as better conforming to the description in the text, although

the distance is three times too great.

241 Efquemin. Walker and Miles have Efcoumain, Bellin, Lefquemin, Bayfield, Efquamine, and Laverdière, Efcoumins. The river half a league diftant is now called River Romaine.

<sup>242</sup> The River Leffumen, a fhort diftance from which is *Anse aux Basques*, or Basque Cove. This is probably the locality referred to in the text.

#### CHAPTER XII.

CEREMONIES OF THE SAVAGES BEFORE ENGAGING IN WAR. — OF THE ALMOUCHICOIS SAVAGES AND THEIR STRANGE FORM. — NARRATIVE OF SIEUR DE PREVERT OF ST. MALO ON THE EXPLORATION OF THE LA CADIAN COAST; WHAT MINES THERE ARE THERE; THE EXCELLENCE AND FERTILITY OF THE COUNTRY.



PON arriving at Tadouffac, we found the favages, whom we had met at the River of the Iroquois, and who had had an encounter at the first lake with three Iroquois canoes, there being ten of the Montagnais. The latter brought back

the heads of the Iroquois to Tadouffac, there being only one Montagnais wounded, which was in the arm by an arrow; and in cafe he should have a dream, it would be necessary for all the ten others to execute it in order to satisfy him, they thinking, moreover, that his wound would thereby do better. If this savage should die, his relatives would avenge his death either on his own tribe or others, or it would be necessary for the captains to make presents to the relatives of the deceased, in order to content them, otherwise, as I have said, they would practise vengeance, which is a great evil among them.

Before these Montagnais set out for the war, they all gathered together in their richest fur garments of beaver and other skins, adorned with beads and belts of various colors. They afsembled in a large public place, in the presence of a sagamore named Begourat, who led them to the war. They were arranged one behind the other, with their bows and arrows, clubs, and round shields with which they provide

themselves

themselves for fighting. They went leaping one after the other, making various geftures with their bodies, and many fnail-like turns. Afterwards they proceeded to dance in the customary manner, as I have before described; then they had their tabagie, after which the women stripped themselves flark naked, adorned with their handfomest matachiats. Thus naked and dancing, they entered their canoes, when they put out upon the water, striking each other with their oars, and throwing quantities of water at one another. But they did themselves no harm, fince they parried the blows hurled at each other. After all these ceremonies, the women withdrew to their cabins, and the men went to the war against the Iroquois.

On the fixteenth of August we set out from Tadoussac, and arrived on the eighteenth at Isle Percée, where we found Sieur Prevert of St. Malo, who came from the mine where he had gone with much difficulty, from the fear which the favages had of meeting their enemies, the Almouchicois,243 who are favages of an exceedingly strange form, for their head is fmall and body fhort, their arms flender as those of a skeleton, fo also the thighs, their legs big and long and of uniform fize, and when they are feated on the ground, their knees extend more than half a foot above the head, fomething strange and seemingly abnormal. They are, however, very agile and refolute, and are fettled upon the best lands

<sup>248</sup> Almouchiquois. Champlain here Indians found fouth of Saco, on the coast writes Armouchicois. The account here of Massachusetts, if accurately reported, given to Prevert, by the Souriquois or is far from correct. Vide Champlain's Micmacs, as they have been more re- description of them, Vol. II. p. 63, et cently called, of the Almouchicois or passim.

of all the coast of La Cadie; 244 fo that the Souriquois fear them greatly. But with the affurance which Sieur de Prevert gave them, he took them to the mine, to which the favages guided him.245 It is a very high mountain, extending fomewhat feaward, glittering brightly in the funlight, and containing a large amount of verdigris, which proceeds from the before mentioned copper mine. At the foot of this mountain, he faid, there was at low water a large quantity of bits of copper, fuch as he showed us, which fall from the top of the mountain. Going on three or four leagues in the direction of the coast of La Cadie, one finds another mine; also a small river extending some distance in a southerly direction, where there is a mountain containing a black pigment with which the favages paint themselves. Then, some fix leagues from the fecond mine, going feaward about a league, and near the coast of La Cadie, you find an island containing a kind of metal of a dark brown color, but white when it is cut. This they formerly used for their arrows and knives, which they beat into shape with stones, which leads me to believe that it is neither tin nor lead, it being fo hard; and, upon our showing them some silver, they said that the metal of this island was like it, which they find fome one or two feet under ground. Sieur Prevert gave to

<sup>244</sup> Coast of La Cadie. This extent given to La Cadie corresponds with the tion, personally, although he pretended charter of De Monts, which covered that he did. He fent some of his men the territory from 40° north latitude to with Secondon, the chief of St. John, 46°. The charter was obtained in the and others. His report is therefore autumn of this fame year, 1603, and be-fecond-hand, confused, and inaccurate. fore the account of this voyage by Champlain exposes Prevert's attempt to Champlain was printed. - Vide Vol. II. deceive in a subsequent reference to note 155.

<sup>245</sup> Prevert did not make this explorahim. Compare Vol. II. pp. 26, 97, 98.

the favages wedges and chifels and other things necessary to extract the ore of this mine, which they promifed to do, and on the following year to bring and give the fame to Sieur Prevert.

They fay, also, that, some hundred or hundred and twenty leagues distant, there are other mines, but that they do not dare to go to them, unless accompanied by Frenchmen to make war upon their enemies, in whose possession the mines are.

This place where the mine is, which is in latitude 44° and fome minutes,246 and fome five or fix leagues from the coast of La Cadie, is a kind of bay fome leagues broad at its entrance, and fomewhat more in length, where there are three rivers which flow into the great bay near the island of St. John,247 which is fome thirty or thirty-five leagues long and fome fix leagues from the mainland on the fouth. There is also another fmall river emptying about half way from that by which Sieur Prevert returned, in which there are two lake-like bodies of water. There is also still another small river, extending in the direction of the pigment mountain. All these rivers fall into said bay nearly southeast of the island where these savages say this white mine is. On the north fide of this bay are the copper mines, where there is a good harbor for veffels, at the entrance to which is a fmall ifland. The bottom is mud and fand, on which veffels can be run.

246 44° and fome minutes. The Bafacques Cartier, 1534, Michelant, ed. fin of Mines, the place where the copper was faid to be, is about 45° 30'.

per was faid to be, is about 45° 30'. called for the period of two hundred and fixty-five years, when it was changed to ward Island. It was named the Island Prince Edward Island by an act of its of St. John by Cartier, having been legislature, in November, 1798, which discovered by him on St. John's Day, the was confirmed by the king in council, 24th of June, 1534. - Vide Voyage de Feb. 1, 1799.

From this mine to the mouth of the above rivers is a diftance of fome fixty or eighty leagues overland. But the diftance to this mine, along the feacoast, from the outlet between the Island of St. Lawrence and the mainland is, I should think, more than fifty or fixty leagues.<sup>248</sup>

All this country is very fair and flat, containing all the kinds of trees we faw on our way to the first fall of the great river of Canada, with but very little fir and cypress.

This is an exact statement of what I ascertained from Sieur Prevert.

# CHAPTER XIII.

A TERRIBLE MONSTER, WHICH THE SAVAGES CALL GOUGOU. — OUR SHORT AND FAVORABLE VOYAGE BACK TO FRANCE.



HERE is, moreover, a strange matter, worthy of being related, which several savages have assured me was true; namely, near the Bay of Chaleurs, towards the south, there is an island where a terrible monster resides, which the savages call

Gougou, and which they told me had the form of a woman, though very frightful, and of fuch a fize that they told me the tops of the masts of our vessel would not reach to his middle, so great do they picture him; and they say that he has often devoured and still continues to devour many savages; these he puts, when he can catch them, into a great pocket, and afterwards eats them; and those who had escaped the

jaws

<sup>248</sup> That is, from the Strait of Canseau round the coast of Nova Scotia to the Bay of Mines.

jaws of this wretched creature faid that its pocket was fo great that it could have put our veffel into it. This monster makes horrible noises in this island, which the favages call the Gougou; and when they speak of him, it is with the greatest possible fear, and several have assured me that they have feen him. Even the above-mentioned Prevert from St. Malo told me that, while going in fearch of mines, as mentioned in the previous chapter, he paffed fo near the dwelling-place of this frightful creature, that he and all those on board his veffel heard strange hiffings from the noise it made, and that the favages with him told him it was the fame creature, and that they were fo afraid that they hid themselves wherever they could, for fear that it would come and carry them off. What makes me believe what they fay is the fact that all the favages in general fear it, and tell fuch strange things about it that, if I were to record all they fay, it would be regarded as a myth; but I hold that this is the dwellingplace of fome devil that torments them in the above-mentioned manner.249 This is what I have learned about this Gougou.

Before

249 The description of this enchanted island is too indefinite to invite a conjecture of its identity or location. The refounding noise of the breaking waves, mingled with the whiftling of the wind, might well lay a foundation for the fears of the Indians, and their excited imaginations would easily fill out and complete the picture. In Champlain's time, the belief in the active agency of good and evil fpirits, particularly the latter, in the affairs of men, was universal. It in the affairs of men, was univerfal. It and terrify these unhappy Indians. As culminated in this country in the tragedies of the Salem witchcraft in 1692. It this ftory, but it probably made no more

has fince been gradually fubfiding, but nevertheless ftill exists under the mitigated form of spiritual communications. Champlain, sharing the credulity of his times, very naturally refers these strange phenomena reported by the savages, whose statements were fully accredited and corroborated by the testimony of his countryman, M. Prevert, to the agency of fome evil demon, who had taken up his abode in that region in order to vex impression

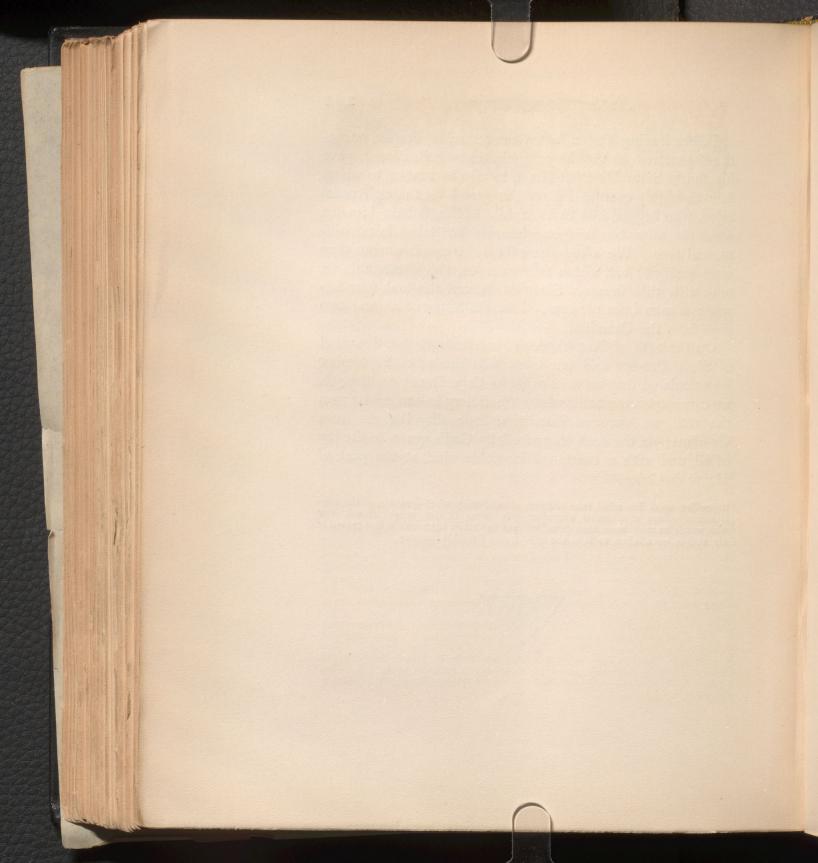
Before leaving Tadoussac on our return to France, one of the fagamores of the Montagnais, named Bechourat, gave his fon to Sieur Du Pont Gravé to take to France, to whom he was highly commended by the grand fagamore, Anadabijou, who begged him to treat him well and have him fee what the other two favages, whom we had taken home with us, had feen. We asked them for an Iroquois woman they were going to eat, whom they gave us, and whom, also, we took with this favage. Sieur de Prevert also took four favages: a man from the coast of La Cadie, a woman and two boys from the Canadians.

On the 24th of August, we set out from Gaspé, the vessel of Sieur Prevert and our own. On the 2d of September we calculated that we were as far as Cape Race; on the 5th, we came upon the bank where the fishery is carried on; on the 16th, we were on foundings, fome fifty leagues from Oueffant; on the 20th we arrived, by God's grace, to the joy of all, and with a continued favorable wind, at the port of Havre de Grâce.

impression upon his mind than did the tion of 1613, when speaking of the cop-

thousand others of a fimilar character per mines in that neighborhood, nor with which he must have been familiar. yet in that of 1632, and it had probably He makes no allusion to it in the edipastic passed from his memory.







## CHAMPLAIN'S EXPLANATION

OF THE

# CARTE DE LA NOVVELLE FRANCE. 1632.

### TABLE FOR FINDING THE PROMINENT PLACES ON THE MAP.

- A. Baye des Isles.1
- B. Calesme.2
- C. Baye des Trespassez.
- D. Cap de Leuy.3
- E. Port du Cap de Raye, where the cod-fishery is carried on.
- F. The north-west coast of Newfoundland, but little known.
- G. Paffage to the north at the 52d degree.4
- H. Isle St. Paul, near Cape St. Lawrence.

I.

letters and figures are not found on the map. Among the rest, the letter A is wanting. It is impossible of course to tell with certainty to what it refers, particularly as the places referred to do not occur in confecutive order. The Abbé
Laverdière thinks this letter points to the bay of Boston or what we commonly cell McKel with the Proposition of the bay of Boston or what we commonly cell McKel with the Brain and the strain of the letter G is wanting, but the reference is plainly to the Straits of the bay of Boston or what we commonly cell McKel with the Brain and the strain monly call Maffachufetts Bay, or to the to the map.

1 It is to be observed that some of the Bay of all Isles as laid down by Champlain on the eastern coast of Nova Sco-

> <sup>2</sup> On the fouthern coast of Newfoundland, now known as Placentia Bay.

# 294 Champlain's Explanation of the

- Isle de Sasinou, between Monts Déserts and Isles aux Corneilles.5
- K. Isle de Mont-réal, at the Falls of St. Louis, some eight or nine leagues in circuit.6
- L. Rivière Feannin.
- M. Rivière St. Antoine.8
- N. Kind of falt water discharging into the sea, with ebb and flood, abundance of fish and shell-fish, and in some places oysters of not very good flavor.9
- Port aux Coquilles, an island at the mouth of the River St. Croix, with good fishing.10
- Islands where there is fishing.11
- R. Lac de Soissons. 12
- S. Baye du Gouffre. 13
- T. Isle de Monts Déserts, very high.
- V. Isle S. Barnabé, in the great river near the Bic.
- X. Lefquemain, where there is a fmall river, abounding in falmon and trout, near which is a little rocky iflet, where there was formerly a station for the whale fishery.14
- Y. La Pointe aux Alloüettes, where, in the month of September, there are numberless larks, also other kinds of game and shell-fish.

Z.

<sup>5</sup> This island was fomewhere between Mount Defert and Jonesport: not unlikely it was that now known as Petit Manan. It was named after Safanou, chief of the River Kennebec. Vide Vol. II. p. 58.

6 The underestimate is fo great, that it is probable that the author intended to fay that the length of the island is eight or nine leagues.

7 The Boyer, east of Quebec. It appears to have been named after the President Jeannin. Vide antea, p. 112.

8 A river east of the Island of Or-

leans now called Rivière du Sud.

9 N is wanting.

10 A harbor at the north-eastern extremity of the island of Campobello. Vide Vol. II. p. 100.

11 Q is wanting. The reference is perhaps to the iflands in Penobfcot

12 Lac de Soissons. So named after Charles de Bourbon, Count de Soiffons, a Viceroy of New France in 1612. Vide antea, p. 112. Now known as the Lake of Two Mountains.

18 A bay at the mouth of a river of this name now called St. Paul's Bay, near the Isle aux Coudres. Vide Vol. II. note 305.

14 Vide antea, note 241.

### Carte de la Novvelle France. 295

- Z. Isle aux Liéures, so named because some hares were captured there when it was first discovered. 15
- Port à Lesquille, dry at low tide, where are two brooks coming from the mountains.16
- 3. Port au Saulmon, dry at low tide. There are two fmall islands here, abounding, in the feafon, with ftrawberries, rafpberries, and bluets.17 Near this place is a good roadstead for vessels, and two fmall brooks flowing into the harbor.

4. Rivière Platte, coming from the mountains, only navigable for canoes. It is dry here at low tide a long diftance out. Good anchorage in the offing.

- 5. Ifles aux Couldres, some league and a half long, containing in their feafon great numbers of rabbits, partridges, and other kinds of game. At the fouthwest point are meadows, and reefs feaward. There is anchorage here for veffels between this island and the mainland on the north.
- 6. Cap de Tourmente, a league from which Sieur de Champlain had a building erected, which was burned by the English in 1628. Near this place is Cap Brussé, between which and Isle aux Coudres is a channel, with eight, ten, and twelve fathoms of water. On the fouth the shore is muddy and rocky. To the north are high lands, &c.

7. Isle d'Orléans, fix leagues in length, very beautiful on account of its variety of woods, meadows, vines, and nuts. The western point of this island is called Cap de Condé.

8. Le Sault de Montmorency, twenty fathoms high, 18 formed by a river coming from the mountains, and discharging into the St. Lawrence, a league and a half from Quebec.

<sup>15</sup> An island in the River St. Lawrence west of Tadoussac, still called Hare Island. Vide antea, note 148.

<sup>16</sup> Figure 2 is not found on the map, and it is difficult to identify the place referred to.

<sup>17</sup> Bluets, Vaccinium Canadense, the Canada blueberry. Champlain fays it is a fmall fruit very good for eating. Vide Quebec ed. Voyage of 1615, p. 509.

18 Vide Vol. II. p. 176.

# 296 Champlain's Explanation of the

9. Rivière S. Charles, coming from Lac S. Joseph, 19 very beautiful with meadows at low tide. At full tide barques can go up as far as the first fall. On this river are built the churches and quarters of the reverend Jésuit and Récollect Fathers. Game is abundant here in fpring and autumn.

10. Rivière des Etechemins, 20 by which the favages go to Ouinebegui, croffing the country with difficulty, on account of the falls and little water. Sieur de Champlain had this exploration made in 1628, and found a favage tribe, feven days from Quebec, who till the foil, and are called the Abenaquiuoit.

II. Rivière de Champlain, near that of Batisquan, north-west of the Grondines.

- Rivière de Sauvages.21
- Ifle Verte, five or fix leagues from Tadouffac.22
- 14. Isle de Chasse.
- 15. Riuière Batisquan, very pleasant, and abounding in fish.
- 16. Les Grondines, and some neighboring islands. A good place for hunting and fishing.
- 17. Rivière des Esturgeons & Saulmons, with a fall of water from fifteen to twenty feet high, two leagues from Saincte Croix, which defcends into a fmall pond difcharging into the great river St. Lawrence.23
- 18. Isle de St. Eloy, with a passage between the island and the mainland on the north.24
- 19. Lac S. Pierre, very beautiful, three to four fathoms in depth, and abounding in fish, surrounded by hills and level tracts,

Charles.

20 Champlain here calls the Chaudière the River of the Etechemins, notwithstanding he had before given the name to that now known as the St. rence on the fouth of Green Island, op-Croix. Vide Vol. II. pp. 30, 47, 60. There is still a little east of the Chaudière a river now known as the Etechemin; but the channel of the Chau-

19 For Lac S. Joseph, read Lac S. dière would be the course which the Indians would naturally take to reach the head-waters of the Kennebec, where dwelt the Abenaquis.

21 River Verte, entering the St. Lawposite to Tadoussac.

22 Green Island.

28 Jacques Cartier River. 24 Near the Batiscan.

# Carte de la Novvelle France. 297

with meadows in places. Several fmall ftreams and brooks flow into it.

- 20. Riuière du Gast, very pleasant, yet containing but little water.25
- 21. Rivière Sainct Antoine.26
- 22. Rivière Saincte Suzanne.27
- 23. Rivière des Yrocois, very beautiful, with many islands and meadows. It comes from Lac de Champlain, five or fix days' journey in length, abounding in fish and game of different kinds. Vines, nut, plum, and chestnut trees abound in many places. There are meadows and very pretty islands in it. To reach it, it is necessary to pass one large and one small fall.<sup>28</sup>
- 24. Sault de Riuière du Saguenay, fifty leagues from Tadoussac, ten or twelve fathoms high.<sup>29</sup>
- 25. Grand Sault, which falls fome fifteen feet, amid a large number of islands. It is half a league in length and three leagues broad.<sup>30</sup>
- 26. Port au Mouton.
- 27. Baye de Campseau.
- 28. Cap Baturier, on the Isle de Sainct Jean.
- 29. A river by way of which they go to the Baye Françoife.31
- 30. Chasse des Estans.32
- 31. Cap de Richelieu, on the eastern part of the Isle d'Orleans.33
- 32. A fmall bank near Isle du Cap Breton.
- 33. Rivière des Puans, coming from a lake where there is a mine of pure red copper.34

34.

<sup>25</sup> Nicolet. *Vide* Laverdière's note, Quebec ed. Vol. III. p. 328.

River St. Francis.Rivière du Loup.

River Richelieu.This number is wanting.

The Falls of St. Louis, above Mont-

real. The figures are wanting.

81 One of the fmall rivers between
Cobequid Bay and Cumberland Strait.

82 Moofe Hunting, on the west of Gaspé.

33 Argentenay. — Laverdière.

84 Champlain had not been in this region, and confequently obtained his information from the favages. There is no fuch lake as he reprefents on his map, and this ifland producing pure copper may have been life Royale, in Lake Superior.

# 298 Champlain's Explanation of the

34. Sault de Gaston, nearly two leagues broad, and discharging into the Mer Douce. It comes from another very large lake, which, with the Mer Douce, have an extent of thirty days' journey by canoe, according to the report of the savages. 35

Returning to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Coast of La Cadie.

- 35. Rivière de Gaspey.36
- 36. Rivière de Chaleu.31
- 37. Several Islands near Miscou and the harbor of Miscou, between two islands.
- 38. Cap de l'Isle Sain& Fean.38
- 39. Port au Rossignol.
- 40. Riuière Platte.39
- 41. Port du Cap Naigré. On the bay by this cape there is a French fettlement, where Sieur de la Tour commands, from whom it was named Port la Tour. The Reverend Récollect Fathers dwelt here in 1630.40
- 42. Baye du Cap de Sable.
- 43. Baye Saine.41
- 44. Baye Courante, with many iflands abounding in game, good fifthing, and places favorable for veffels.<sup>42</sup>
- 45. Port du Cap Fourchu, very pleafant, but very nearly dry at low tide. Near this place are many iflands, with good hunting.
- 47. Petit Passage de Isle Longue. Here there is good cod-fishing.
- 48. Cap des Deux Bayes.43
- 49. Port des Mines, where, at low tide, fmall pieces of very pure copper are to be found in the rocks along the shore.44

50.

- 85 The Falls of St. Mary.
- York River.The Riftigouche.
- 88 Now called North Point.
- 89 Probably Gold River, flowing into of Fundy. Mahone Bay.
  44 Advo
  - 40 Still called Port La Tour.
- <sup>41</sup> Halifax Harbor. *Vide* Vol. II. note 266.
- 42 Vide Vol. II. note 192.
- 48 Now Cape Chignecto, in the Bay
- 44 Advocates' Harbor.

#### Carte de la Novvelle France. 299

- 50. Isles de Bacchus, very pleafant, containing many vines, nut, plum, and other trees.45
- 51. Islands near the mouth of the river Chouacoet.
- 52. Ifles Affez Hautes, three or four in number, two or three leagues diftant from the land, at the mouth of Baye Longue.46
- 53. Baye aux Isles, with fuitable harbors for vessels. The country is very good, and fettled by numerous favages, who till the land. In these localities are numerous cypresses, vines, and nut-trees.47
- La Soupconneuse, an island nearly a league distant from the land.48
- Baye Longue.49
- 56. Les Sept Isles.50
- 57. Rivière des Etechemins.51

The Virginias, where the English are settled, between the 36th and 37th degrees of latitude. Captains Ribaut and Laudonnière made explorations 36 or 37 years ago along the coasts adjoining Florida, and established a settlement.52

- 58. Several rivers of the Virginias, flowing into the Gulf.
- Coast inhabited by savages who till the foil, which is very good.
- 60. Poincle Confort.53
- 61. Immestan.54
- 62. Chesapeaca Bay.
- 63. Bedabedec, the coast west of the river Pemetegoet. 55
- 64. Belles Prairies.

50 These islands appear to be in Casco

65.

45 Richmond Island. Vide note 42 Vol. I. and note 123 Vol. II. of this work.

46 The Isles of Shoals. Vide Vol. II. note 142.

47 Boston Bay.

48 Martha's Vineyard. Vide Vol. II. note 227.

49 Merrimac Bay, as it may be appropriately called, ftretching from Little Boar's Head to Cape Anne.

Bay.

51 The figures are not on the map.

52 Scoudic, com-

The reference is to the Scoudic, commonly known as the River St. Croix.

52 There is probably a typographical error in the figures. The passage should read "66 or 67 years ago."

58 Now Old Point Comfort. 54 Jamestown, Virginia.

55 Vide Vol. II. note 95.

# 300 Champlain's Explanation of the

- 65. Place on Lac Champlain where the Yroquois were defeated by Sieur Champlain in 1606.<sup>56</sup>
- 66. Petit Lac, by way of which they go to the Yroquois, after paffing over that of Champlain.<sup>57</sup>
- 67. Baye des Trespassez, on the island of Newfoundland.
- 68. Chappeau Rouge.
- 69. Baye du Sainct Esprit.
- 70. Les Vierges.
- 71. Port Breton, near Cap Sainct Laurent, on Isle du Cap Breton.
- 72. Les Bergeronnettes, three leagues from Tadoussac.
- 73. Le Cap d'Espoir, near Isle Percée.58
- 74. Forillon, at Poincte de Gaspey.
- 75. Isle de Mont-réal, at the Falls of St. Louis, in the River St. Lawrence. 59
- 76. Rivière des Prairies, coming from a lake at the Falls of St. Louis, where there are two islands, one of which is Montréal. For several years this has been a station for trading with the savages. 60
- 77. Sault de la Chaudière, on the river of the Algonquins, some eighteen feet high, and descending among rocks with a great roar.<sup>61</sup>
- 78. Lac de Nibachis, the name of a favage captain who dwells here and tills a little land, where he plants Indian corn. 62
- 79. Eleven lakes, near each other, one, two, and three leagues in extent, and abounding in fish and game. Sometimes the favages go this way in order to avoid the Fall of the Calu-

mets.

<sup>56</sup> This should read 1609. Vide Vol. II. note 348.

<sup>57</sup> Lake George. Vide antea, note 63, p. 93.

p. 93.  $_{\rm 58}$  This cape ftill bears the fame name.

<sup>59</sup> This number is wanting.

60 This river comes from the Lake of Two Mountains, is a branch of the

Vide Ottawa feparating the Island of Montreal from the Isle Jésus, and flows into the main channel of the Ottawa two or three miles before it reaches the eastern fame end of the Island of Montreal.

61 The Chaudière Falls are near the fite of the city of Ottawa. Vide antea,

62 Muskrat Lake.

#### Carte de la Novvelle France. 30 I

mets, which is very dangerous. Some of these localities abound in pines, yielding a great amount of refin.63

- Sault des Pierres à Calunmet, which resemble alabaster. 80.
- 81. Isle de Tesouac, an Algonquin captain (Tesouac) to whom the favages pay a toll for allowing them paffage to Quebec.64
- 82. La Rivière de Tesouac, in which there are five falls. 65
- 83. A river by which many favages go to the North Sea, above the Saguenay, and to the Three Rivers, going some distance overland.66
- 84. The lakes by which they go to the North Sea.
- 85. A river extending towards the North Sea.
- 86. Country of the Hurons, fo called by the French, where there are numerous communities, and feventeen villages fortified by three palifades of wood, with a gallery all around in the form of a parapet, for defence against their enemies. This region is in latitude 44° 30', with a fertile foil cultivated by the favages.
- Paffage of a league overland, where the canoes are carried.
- A river discharging into the Mer Douce.67
- 89. Village fortified by four palifades, where Sieur de Champlain went in the war against the Antouhonorons, and where feveral favages were taken prifoners.68
- Falls at the extremity of the Falls of St. Louis, very high, where many fish come down and are stunned. 69
- 91. A fmall river near the Sault de la Chaudière, where there is a waterfall nearly twenty fathoms high, over which the water

<sup>68</sup> This number is wanting on the around and forms the northern bounmap. Muſkrat Lake is one of this fucdary of Allumette Iſland. ceffion of lakes, which extends eafterly towards the Ottawa.

64 Allumette Island, in the River Ottawa, about eighty-five miles above the capital of the Dominion of Canada.

65 That part of the River Ottawa which, after its bifurcation, fweeps

66 The Ottawa beyond its junction with the Matawan.

67 French River.

68 Vide antea, note 83, p. 130.

69 Plainly Lake St. Louis, now the Ontario, and not the Falls of St. Louis. The reference is here to Niagara Falls.

# Champlain's Explanation of the

flows in fuch volume and with fuch velocity that a long arcade is made, beneath which the favages go for amusement, without getting wet. It is a fine fight.70

- 92. This river is very beautiful, with numerous islands of various fizes. It passes through many fine lakes, and is bordered by beautiful meadows. It abounds in deer and other animals, with fish of excellent quality. There are many cleared tracts of land upon it, with good foil, which have been abandoned by the favages on account of their wars. It discharges into Lake St. Louis, and many tribes come to these regions to hunt and obtain their provision for the winter.71
- 93. Chestnut forest, where there are great quantities of chestnuts, on the borders of Lac St. Louis. Also many meadows, vines, and nut-trees.72
- 94. Lake-like bodies of falt water at the head of Baye François, where the tide ebbs and flows. Islands containing many birds, many meadows in different localities, fmall rivers flowing into these species of lakes, by which they go to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, near Isle S. Jean. 73
- 95. Isle Haute, a league in circuit, and flat on top. It contains fresh water and much wood. It is a league diftant from Port aux Mines and Cap des Deux Bayes. It is more than forty fathoms high on all fides, except in one place, where it flopes, and where there is a pebbly point of a triangular shape. In the centre is a pond with falt water. Many birds make their nefts in this ifland.
- La Rivière des Algommequins, extending from the Falls of St. Louis nearly to the Lake of the Biffereni, containing more than eighty falls, large and fmall, which must be passed by going

72 On the borders of Lake Ontario in

78 The head-waters of the Bay of Fundy.

<sup>70</sup> The River Rideau. 71 The River Trent discharges into the State of New York. the Bay of Quinté, an arm of Lake Ontario or Lac St. Louis.

going around, by rowing, or by hauling with ropes. of these falls are very dangerous, particularly in going down 74

- Gens de Petun. This is a tribe cultivating this herb (tobacco), in which they carry on an extensive traffic with the other tribes. They have large towns, fortified with wood, and they plant Indian corn.
- Cheveux Relevez. These are favages who wear nothing about the loins, and go ftark naked, except in winter, when they clothe themselves in robes of skins, which they leave off when they quit their houses for the fields. They are great hunters, fishermen, and travellers, till the foil, and plant Indian corn. They dry bluets 75 and raspberries, in which they carry on an extensive traffic with the other tribes, taking in exchange skins, beads, nets, and other articles. Some of these people pierce the nofe, and attach beads to it. They tattoo their bodies, applying black and other colors. They wear their hair very ftraight, and greafe it, painting it red, as they do also the face.
- La Nation Neutre. This is a people that maintains itself against all the others. They engage in war only with the Affiftaqueronons. They are very powerful, having forty towns well peopled.
- Les Antouhonorons. They confift of fifteen towns built in strong fituations. They are enemies of all the other tribes, except Neutral nation. Their country is fine, with a good climate, and near the river St. Lawrence, the passage of which they forbid to all the other tribes, for which reason it is less visited by them. They till the foil, and plant their land. 76

Les Yroquois.

to, extends nearly to Lake Nipiffing, here fpoken of as the lake of the Biffe-

<sup>75</sup> The Canada blueberry, Vaccinium Canadense. The aborigines of New ronons, as given on the map.

<sup>74</sup> The River Ottawa, here referred England were accustomed to dry the blueberry for winter's use. Vide Fosse. lyn's Rarities, Tuckerman's ed., Boston,

<sup>1865,</sup> p. 113.

This reference is to the Antono-

### Champlain's Explanation. 304

Les Yroquois. They unite with the Antouhonorons in making war against all the other tribes, except the Neutral nation.

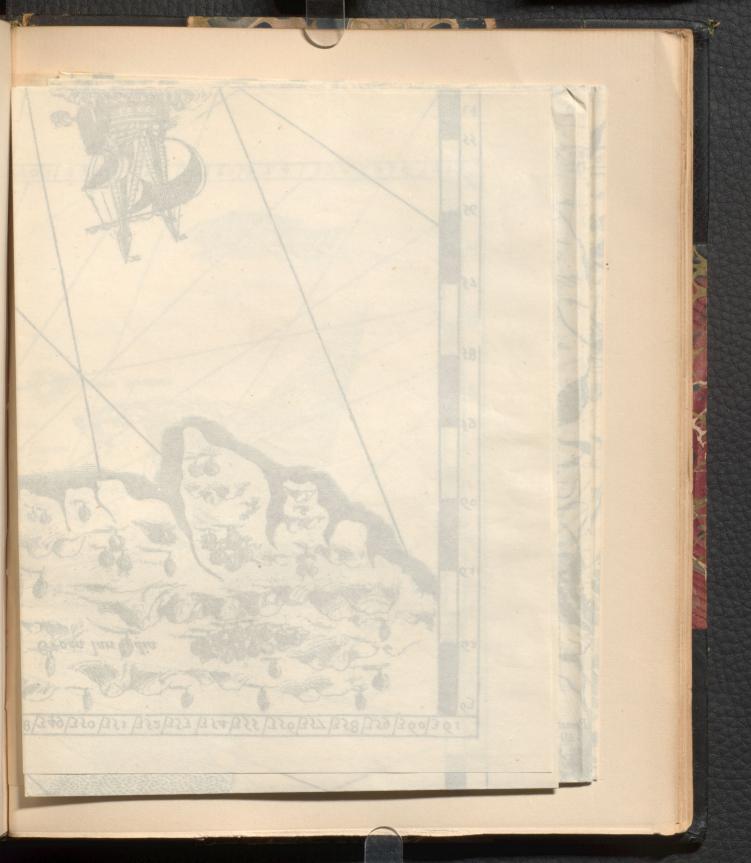
Carantouanis. This is a tribe that has moved to the fouth of the Antouhonorons, and dwells in a very fine country, where it is fecurely quartered. They are friends of all the other tribes, except the above named Antouhonorons, from whom they are only three days' journey diftant. Once they took as prifoners fome Flemish, but fent them back again without doing them any harm, fuppofing that they were French. Between Lac St. Louis and Sault St. Louis, which is the great river St. Lawrence, there are five falls, numerous fine lakes, and pretty islands, with a pleasing country abounding in game and fish, favorable for settlement, were it not for the wars which the favages carry on with each other.

La Mer Douce is a very large lake, containing a countless number of islands. It is very deep, and abounds in fish of all varieties and of extraordinary fize, which are taken at different times and feafons, as in the great fea. The fouthern shore is much pleafanter than the northern, where there are many rocks and great quantities of caribous.

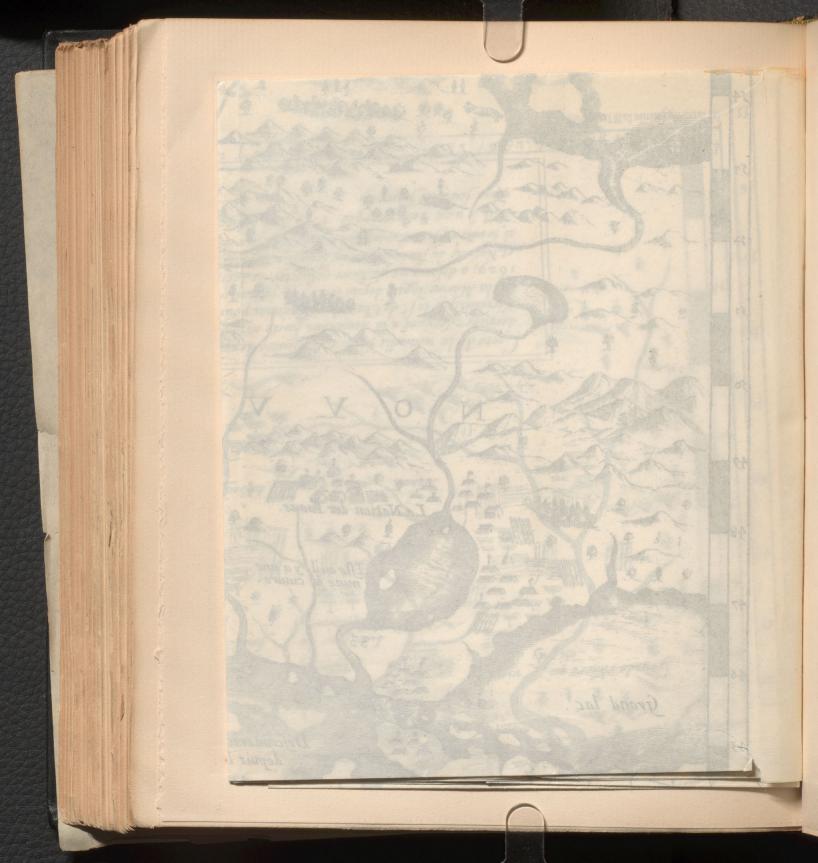
Le Lac des Bisserenis is very beautiful, some twenty-five leagues in circuit, and containing numerous iflands covered with woods and meadows. The favages encamp here, in order to catch in the river flurgeon, pike, and carp, which are excellent and of very great fize, and taken in large numbers. Game is also abundant, although the country is not particularly attractive, it being for the most part rocky.

Note. - The following are marked Fourchu; 4. Port Royal; 5. St. Croix; bou; 2. Cap Naigre; 3. Port du Cap St. Croix, near Quebec.

on the map as places where the French 6. Isle des Monts Deserts; 7. Port de have had fettlements: 1. Grand Ci- Miscou; 8. Tadoussac; 9. Quebec; 10.









THE PRINCE SOCIETY.



## Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

# IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FOUR.

### AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

SECTION I. John Ward Dean, J. Wingate Thornton, Edmund F. Slafter, and Charles W. Tuttle, their affociates and fucceffors, are made a corporation by the name of the PRINCE SOCIETY, for the purpose of preserving and extending the knowledge of American History, by editing and printing such manuscripts, rare tracts, and volumes as are mostly confined in their use to historical students and public libraries.

SECTION 2. Said corporation may hold real and perfonal effate to an amount not exceeding thirty thousand dollars.

SECTION 3. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

Approved March 18, 1874.

NOTE. — The Prince Society was organized on the 25th of May, 1858. What was undertaken as an experiment has proved fuccefsful. This ACT OF INCORPORATION has been obtained to enable the Society better to fulfil its object, in its expanding growth.



## THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

### CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. — This Society shall be called THE PRINCE SOCIETY; and it shall have for its object the publication of rare works, in

print or manuscript, relating to America.

ARTICLE II. — The officers of the Society shall be a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, and a Treasurer; who together shall form the Council of the Society.

ARTICLE III. — Members may be added to the Society on the recommendation of any member and a confirmatory vote of a majority of the Council.

Libraries and other Institutions may hold membership, and be

represented by an authorized agent.

All members shall be entitled to and shall accept the volumes printed by the Society, as they are iffued from time to time, at the prices fixed by the Council; and membership shall be forfeited by a refusal or neglect so to accept the said volumes.

Any person may terminate his membership by resignation addressed in writing to the President; provided, however, that he shall have previously paid for all volumes issued by the Society after the date of his election as a member.

ARTICLE IV. — The management of the Society's affairs shall be vested in the Council, which shall keep a faithful record of its proceedings,

proceedings, and report the fame to the Society annually, at its General Meeting in May.

ARTICLE V. — On the anniversary of the birth of the Rev. Thomas Prince, — namely, on the twenty-fifth day of May, in every year (but if this day shall fall on Sunday or a legal holiday, on the following day), — a General Meeting shall be held at Boston, in Massachusetts, for the purpose of electing officers, hearing the report of the Council, auditing the Treasurer's account, and transacting other business.

ARTICLE VI. — The officers shall be chosen by the Society annually, at the General Meeting; but vacancies occurring between the General Meetings may be filled by the Council.

ARTICLE VII. — By-Laws for the more particular government of the Society may be made or amended at any General Meeting.

ARTICLE VIII. — Amendments to the Constitution may be made at the General Meeting in May, by a three-fourths vote, provided that a copy of the same be transmitted to every member of the Society, at least two weeks previous to the time of voting thereon.

### COUNCIL.

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### RULES AND REGULATIONS.

I. THE Society shall be administered on the mutual principle, and solely in the interest of American history.

2. A volume shall be iffued as often as practicable, but not more frequently than once a year.

3. An editor of each work to be iffued shall be appointed, who shall be a member of the Society, whose duty it shall be to prepare, arrange, and conduct the same through the press; and, as he will necessarily be placed under obligations to scholars and others

for

for affiftance, and particularly for the loan of rare books, he shall be entitled to receive ten copies, to enable him to acknowledge and return any courtesies which he may have received.

4. All editorial work and official fervice shall be performed gratuitously.

5. All contracts connected with the publication of any work shall be laid before the Council in distinct specifications in writing, and be adopted by a vote of the Council, and entered in a book kept for that purpose; and, when the publication of a volume is completed, its whole expense shall be entered, with the items of its cost in full, in the same book. No member of the Council shall be a contractor for doing any part of the mechanical work of the publications.

6. The price of each volume shall be a hundredth part of the cost of the edition, or as near to that as conveniently may be; and there shall be no other affessments levied upon the members of the Society.

7. A fum, not exceeding one thousand dollars, may be fet apart by the Council from the net receipts for publications, as a working capital; and when the said net receipts shall exceed that sum, the excess shall be divided, from time to time, among the members of the Society, by remitting either a part or the whole cost of a volume, as may be deemed expedient.

8. All moneys belonging to the Society shall be deposited in the New England Trust Company in Boston, unless some other banking institution shall be designated by a vote of the Council; and said moneys shall be entered in the name of the Society, subject to the order of the Treasurer.

9. It shall be the duty of the Prefident to call the Council together, whenever it may be necessary for the transaction of business, and to prefide at its meetings.

10. It shall be the duty of the Vice-Presidents to authorize all bills before their payment, to make an inventory of the property of

of the Society during the month preceding the annual meeting and to report the fame to the Council, and to audit the accounts of the Treasurer.

II. It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to iffue all general notices to the members, and to conduct the general correspondence of the Society.

12. It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to keep a complete record of the proceedings both of the Society and of the Council, in a book provided for that purpose.

13. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to forward to the members bills for the volumes, as they are iffued; to superintend the sending of the books; to pay all bills authorized and indorsed by at least two Vice-Presidents of the Society; and to keep an accurate account of all moneys received and disbursed.

14. No books shall be forwarded by the Treasurer to any member until the amount of the price fixed for the same shall have been received; and any member neglecting to forward the said amount for one month after his notification, shall forfeit his membership.





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A true, lively and experimentall description of that part of America, commonly called Nevv England: discovering the State of that Countrie, both as it stands to our newcome English Planters; and to the old Natiue Inhabitants. By WILLIAM WOOD. London, 1634. Preface by Charles Deane, LL.D.

#### THE HUTCHINSON PAPERS.

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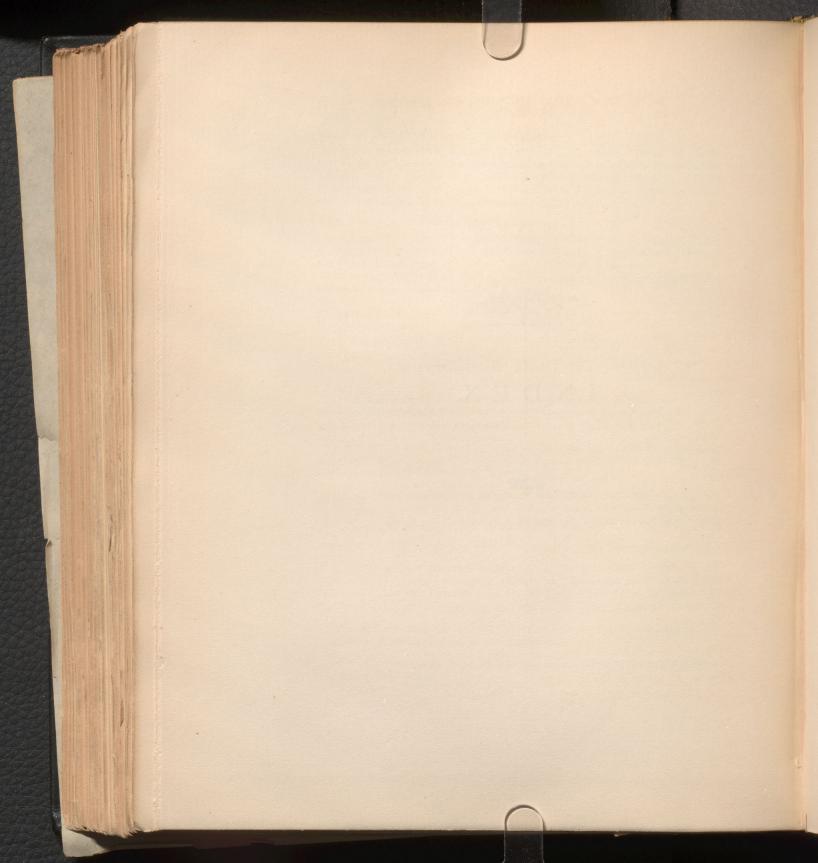
It is the intention of the Council to iffue at least one volume annually, but not necessarily in the order in which they are placed above.

N. B. Communications to the officers of the Society should be directed to 18 Somerset Street, Boston, Mass.



INDEX.







## INDEX.

#### A.

Abenaquis, 296. Abenaquiuoit, 296. Abercrombie, Gen'l, 91. Abnaki, 41, 46. Advocates' Harbor, 298. Albany, 93. Alderney, 231. Alençon, 253. Alexander, Sir William, 159, 160, 165, 172, 174, 176, 177, 317. Alexander, Sir William, Jr., 161, 162. Alfonse or Alphonse, Jean, 30, 77, 233. Algommequins, La Riuière des, 302. Algonquins, 90, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 108, 115, 116, 121, 138, 139, 152, 175, 187, 192, 238, 241, 242, 255, 261, 268, 273, 274, 275, 276, 278, 301. Algonquins, River of, 300. All Devils' Point, 335. Allen, Ethan, Gen'l, 91. Allen River, 72. Allouettes, Point aux, 235, 294. Allumet Island, 118, 119, 121, 301. Almouchiquois, 286. America, 25, 28, 29, 31, 40, 54, 79, 94, 109, 122, 155, 159, 177, 195, 206.

America, North, 27, 77, 78, 115, 157, 159, 192. America, South, 22, 23, 24. Amherst Island, 128. Amherst, Lord Jeffrey, 91. Amiens, 17. Amyot, 220. Anadabijou, 236, 237, 291. Anassou, 56, 57. Andiatarocté, 93. Andrews, Sir Joseph, 161. Andros, Sir Edmund, 317. Angiers, 5, 17. Annapolis Harbor, or Bafin, 39, 58, 62, 63, 71, 76, 79, 162, 176, 206. Annapolis, Village of, 62, 72. Annotationes Postcriptæ, 205. Anse aux Basques, 284. Anticosti, 32, 233. Anticosty, 233, 265. Antoine, Riuière, St., 294, 297. Antonio, Prior of Crato, 26. Antouhonorons, 131, 301, 303, 304. Antouoronons, 303, 304. Antwerp, 8. Apostles' Creed, 246. Arcere, 3, 5. Archangel, 57.

Archives of Foreign Affairs, 181. Arctic Sea, 240. Ardres, 18. Argall, Capt. Samuel, 122, 160. Argentenay, 297. Armouchides, 277. Arms of France, 72. Arquebusiers, 93. Arques, 16, 26. Arrowfwick, 46. Artichoke, Jerufalem, 64. Arundel, Lord of, 57. Ascension, Isle of, 233. Afh. 264. Afia, Northern, 239. Afpens, 264. Affelini, 27. Affiftaqueronons, 303. Affumption, Island of, 233. Aftrolabe, 118. Aubigné, D', 220. Auburn, N. Y., 132. Augusta, 79. Aumont, Marshal d', 16, 17, 19. Aunis, 3. Aurigny, 231. Australians, 240. Azores, 23, 26.

B.

Bacchus Island, 48, 63.
Bacchus, Isles de, 299.
Back River, 46.
Bahama, 23.
Baie la Vallière, 260.
Baird, Spenser F, 265.
Baleine, 174, 175.
Ballard, Rev. Edward, 42, 47.
Baltimore, Lord, 161.

Bangor, 42, 122, 209. Bannatyne Club, 177. Bar Harbor, 208. Barnabé, Isle, S., 294. Barnstable Harbor, 65, 197. Bafque Cove, 284. Bafques, 29, 38, 80, 83, 162, 163, 284. Bafs River, 279. Batifquan, Riuière, 296. Batiscan, 255. Baturier, Cap, 297. Baye aux Isles, 299. Baye des Isles, 293. Baye des Trespassez, 293. Baye Françoife, 297, 302. Baye Longue, 299. Baye Saine, 298. Bayfield, Capt. H. W., 253, 278, 282, 283, 284. Bay of All Ifles, 293. Bay of Fundy, 34, 39, 59, 75, 162, 206, 222, 280, 298, 302. Bay of Mines, 39, 60, 76. Beamish, North Ludlow, 318. Bear Island, 260. Bears, 265, 278. Beauchamp, Rev. W. M., 132. Beaumont, 43. Beauport, 63. Beavers, 265. Bechourat, Sagamore, 291. Bedabedec, 299. Beech, 264. Begourat, Sagamore, 285. Belarmat, 3. Bell. Charles H., viii, 156, 317. Belle Isle, Straits of, 293. Belles Prairies, 299. Bellin, Atlas, Maritime, 253, 268, 283,

284.

Bephano, 3. Bergeronnettes, Les, 300. Berjon, Jean, 216. Berkeley, William, 161. Bermuda, 23. Bersimis Point, 283. Biard, Pierre, 29, 41, 46, 122. Bibliothèque Nationale, 213. Bic, 32, 234, 294. Billingsgate, 54. Birch, 15, 17, 27, 239. Biffereni, Lake of, 302, 303, 304. Bifferenis, Lac des, 304. Black Point, 47. Black-skimmer, 58. Blaskowitz, Plan of Plymouth, 207. Blavet, 15, 18, 20. Blaxton, the Rev. William, 211. Blueberry, Canada, 295, 303. Bon Temps, L'ordre de, 72. Bordeaux, 161. Boston, 211, 293. Boston Athenæum, vii, 218. Boston Harbor, 52, 197, 199. Boulav. 44. Boullé, Eustache, 147, 151, 152, 167, 194, 205. Boullé, Hélène, 104, 105, 194, 266. Boullé, Nicholas, 105. Boullon, Duke de, 27. Bowdoin College, 79. Boyer, 294. Brantôme, 16, 18. Bras d'Or, Great, 175. Bras d'Or, Little, 175. Brébeuf, Jean de, 96, 178, 179, 180. Breft, 54. Breton, Cap, 300. Breton, Port, 300. Bretons, 29.

Brevoort, J. C., 23. Brigard, 229. Briffac, Marashal de, 16, 17, 20, 117. Brittany, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 26, 30, 227, 231. Brittany, Upper, 16. Broadhead, J. R., 207. Brouage, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 17, 103, 123, 155, 225. Brown, Mrs. John Carter, vii, 215, 218. Brûlé, Étienne, 126, 128, 143. Bruslé, Cap, 295. Buffalo, 132. Buiffon, Saut du, 270. Burgovne, Gen'l John, 91. Burials, Indian, 248. Busk, 27. Buzzard's Bay, 69.

#### C.

Cabin, Indian, 239. Cabot, John, v, 29. Cabot, Sebastian, 77. Cadiz, 20, 21. Caen, Émeric de, 148, 149, 150, 152, 154, 155, 169, 170, 178. Caen, William de, 148, 155, 170, 178. Cahiagué, 127, 137, 138. Calais, 43. Calefme, 293. Calice, 18. California Indians, 94. Calumet, Sault des Pierres à, 301. Calvin, John, 12, 123. Camden, 16. Cameret, Marie, 194. Camper, Château de, 16, 17. Campobello, Island of, 294. Campfeau, Baye de, 297.

Canada, 34, 35, 36, 37, 95, 97, 145, 151, 153, 156, 159, 165, 177, 189, 194, 196, 200, 205, 213, 225, 227, 232, 265, 273, 280, 301. Canada, Great Bay of, 233. Canada, River of, 233, 234, 253, 257, 258, 267, 289. Canaries, 21. Caniaderiguarûnte, 93. Caniatagaronte, 93. Canoe, Indian, 52, 239. Canfeau, 38, 39, 74, 75, 76, 77, 197, 280, 289. Cap Blanc, 54. Cap de Levy, 293. Cap de Poutrincourt, 76. Cap Rouge, 30. Cape Dauphin, 175. Cape Elizabeth, 47. Cape Évêque, 281. Cape Fendu, 76. Cape Gaspé, 233. Cape Henry, 211. Cape Horn, 240. Capelle, La, 18. Cape Anne, 51, 52, 63, 197, 299. Cape Breton, 31, 32, 36, 37, 61, 162, 174, 175, 233, 280, 297. Cape Charles, 211. Cape Chignectou, 298. Cape Cod, 54, 58, 63, 65, 78, 198, 235. Cape Cod Bay, 54, 65. Cape North, 233. Cape Pine, 232. Cape Porpoife, 50, 197. Cape Race, 291. Cape Ray, 32, 232, 233. Cape Sable, 39, 61, 78. Cape Salmon, 251.

Cape Split, 76. Cape St. Lawrence, 233, 300. Cape St. Mary, 232. Cape Tourmente, 151, 153, 162, 163, 164. Carantouan, 143. Carantouanis, 304. Carhagouha, 127, 138. Caribbean Sea, 22, 196. Carillon, Fort, 91. Caron, Joseph, le, 124, 127, 138, 141, 142, 153. Carte de la Nouvelle France, 210, 211. Carthagena, 22, 23. Cartier, Jacques, 29, 30, 95, 114, 199, 220, 233, 234, 251, 252, 255, 257, 261, 265, 268, 278, 279, 288. Cartier, Jacques, River, 296. Cafcades, 270. Cafco Bay, 47, 299. Cafgrain, L'Abbé, H. R., viii, 185, 186. Cataraqui Creek, 136. Catechism, 178. Catelet, le, 18. Cathay, 116. Catholic, 13, 14, 15, 16, 112, 145, 151, 154, 156, 187, 188, 192, 193. Cavalier, 133. Caymans, 22. Cedres, 270. Cerberus, 199. César, Duc de Vendôme, 15, 105. Chaleur, Bay of, 29, 36, 37, 279. Chaleurs, Baye de, 278, 279, 280. Chaleu, Riuière de, 298. Chamberlain, Joshua L., 79. Chambly, 262, 268. Chambly, Falls of, 90, 96. Champdoré, 43. Champlain, Antoine de, 1.

Champlain, Samuel de, birth, 206; parentage and home at Brouage I-II; quarter-master in the army, I-19; his vifit to the West Indies, 20-26; his first voyage to Canada, 26-35; his fecond voyage and three years fojourn on the Atlantic coast of America under De Monts, 35-78; prepares for a voyage to Canada, 78-80; fettles difficulties at Tadouffac, 80, 81; fails up the St. Lawrence. 81, 82; he lays the foundations of Quebec, 82; attempt to affaffinate him, 83-85; his first winter at Ouebec, 86-88; tour of exploration and discovery of Lake Champlain, 89-91; battle at Ticonderoga, 91-96; his return to France, 96, 97; returns to Canada, 98; battle at the mouth of the Richelieu, 99-103; he hears of the death of Henry IV. and returns to France, 103, 104; his marriage, 105; returns to Canada, 105; he repairs to the Falls of St. Louis, the rendezvous for Indian trade, 106-110; returns to France and reorganizes the company, 110-114; returns to New France, 115: explores the Ottawa, 115-121; returns to France and takes missionaries to Canada, 122-124; his exploration of the upper Ottawa, Lake Nipiffing, Lake Huron, Simcoe, Ontario, penetrates the interior of Western New York and gives battle to the Iroquois, 124-135; goes into winter quarters with the Hurons, 135-138; explorations during the winter, 138-140; returns to the Falls of St. Louis, 141, 142; voyages to France, 143; efforts to revive the company, 144-147; takes his wife to Canada, 147; repairs the buildings at Quebec, 148-150; in France two years, 151; erects a farm-house at Cape Tourmente, 151; difficulty with Indians, 152, 153; the peltry and fur trade, 154, 155; the company of New France, organized, 155, 157; the English attack New France, 158-173; receives Capt. Daniel's account of his colony planted in the Island of Cape Breton, 173-175; he lays the fubject of the British invasion before the government at Paris, 175-177; he attends to the publication of his works at Paris, 178; returns to Ouebec, and enters upon feveral new enterprifes, 179-181; his letter to Richelieu, 181-183; his death, 184, 185; fummary of his character, 186-204; portrait of, 212; titles of his publications, 215-219; his dedication to Charles Montmorency.

Champlain, Lac de, 297, 300. Champlain, Lake, 93. Champlain, Madame, 212. Champlain Rivière de, 70, 296. Chandler, Peleg W., 156. Chantrey, 161. Chantilly, 146. Chaoufarou, 97. Chapel of M. de Champlain, 185. Chappeau Rouge, 300. Charavay, Étienne, 194, 205. Charente Inférieure, 206. Charlesbourg Royal, 30. Charles I., 161, 169, 172, 176. Charles II., 193. Charles VIII., 2. Charles IX., 3, 14, 16, 186.

Charles Riuière, S., 296. Charles River, 52. Charlevoix, 90, 123, 149, 158, 213, 252, 253, 260, 268. Charlton, Robert, 161. Charolois, 18. Chasse des Eslans, 297. Chastes, Amyar de, 26, 27, 28, 32, 34, 205. Château de Blandy, 113. Châteauneuf, 172. Chatham, 65, 66, 67, 69, 197. Chaudière River, 296. Chaudière Falls, 120. Chaudière, Sault de, 300, 301. Chauvin, de Saint, 28, 31, 32, 35, 205. Chavin, Capt. Pierre, 96, 98. Cherries, 264. Chefapeacq Bay, 299. Chefapeake Bay, 211. Chevalier, 74. Cheveux-Relevés, 139, 303. Chestnuts, 264. Chinschedec, 37. Chittenango Creek, 131, 132. Chouacoet, 299. Cibou, 175, 304. Clark, General John S., 132. Coast Survey, 41, 47, 207, 208. Cobequid Bay, 297. Cognac, 161. Cohaffet, 53. Collet, Clavde, 216, 217. Colombo, Don Francisco, 21. Columbus, F., 240. Company of Merchant Adventurers, 161, 171. Company of New France, or Hundred Affociates, 155, 156, 157, 158, 165, 171, 174, 176, 178, 179, 184, 187, 189. Condé, Cap de, 295. Condé, Louis, le Grand, 113. Condé, Prince of, 4, 5, 14, 17, 105, 113, 121, 146, 216. Confort, Poincte, 299. Connecticut Historical Society, 42, 46, Convent de Notre Dame, 149. Convent, Urfuline, 194. Cooper, James Fenimore, 94. Copper Implements, Pre-historic, 276. Corpus Christi, 93. Coffe-Briffac, Charles, 17. Coffe-Briffac, Jeanne de, 17. Coteau du Lac, Rapids du, 270. Couchiching, Lake, 127, 128. Coudre, Isle au, 251, 252, 294, 295. Coues, 240. Couillard, William, 171. Courante, Baye, 298. Courcelles, 17. Coutras, 17. Cowashalon Creek, 131. Cramoify, Sebastian, 155. Creuxius, 159, 174, 185, 189. Crofs, James, D.D., 131. Cuba, 22, 196. Cumberland Strait, 297. Currants, 264. Cutter, Charles A., vii. Cyprefs, 235, 264.

D.

Dale, Sir Thomas, 160.
Daniel, Capt. Charles, 155, 173, 174, 175.
Darien, Ishmus of, 25.
D'Arontal, 141.

Daru, M., 16. Dauphiny, 112. D'Avezac, 233, 234, 251, 252, 257, 261, 265, 268. Davila, Henrico Caterino, 4, 5, 18. Deane, Charles, 317. Dean, John Ward, vii, 306. Dechambeau Point, 256. Deer-trap, 136. Deffiat, Marquis, 155. De Laet, Jean, 233. Delisle, L., viii. De Monts, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 45, 47, 50, 52, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 72, 74, 75, 79, 80, 89, 97, 103, 105, 106, 109, 110, 111, 112, 122, 123, 158, 206, 208, 287. De Monts' Island, 39, 40, 43, 206. Denis, 27. Denys, Nicholas, 39, 175, 265. Derby, 161. Defbarats, Geo. E., 218. Desdames, 166. Defeada, 21, 196. Detroit River, 271. Deux Bayes, Cap des, 298, 302. De Witt, John, 9. Dexter, H. M., 207. Diamonds, 253. Dieppe, 27, 29, 150, 161, 173, 174, 179, 219. Dijon, 112. Dog, 238, 240. Domingo, St., 22. Dominion of Canada, 29, 200, 301. Dorr, S. E., viii. Dourlens, 18. Dover, Eng., 171. Du Guaft, Pierre, 52. Du Parc, 104, 106.

Dutch, 152. Du Val, Jean, 83, 84, 85. Duxborough, 207. Duxbury Beach, 207.

E.

East Boston, 52. Elizabeth, Queen, 15, 27, 198. England and English, 11, 13, 22, 27, 54, 57, 158, 159, 160, 162, 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 182, 183, 198, 205, 211, 231, 299. English Channel, 98. Entouhonorons, 143. Espernon, Duke of, 18. Espoir, Le Cap d', 300. Esprit, Baye du Sainct, 300. Estrées, Gabrielle d', 15. Etechemins, 238, 242, 278. Etechemins, Riuière des, 296, 299. Europe, 8, 58, 239.

F.

Falls of St. Louis, 33, 106, 115, 119, 141, 154, 251, 268, 294, 297, 300, 301, 302, 304.
Falls of St. Mary, 298.
Falmouth, Eng., 175.
Faribault, M., 213.
Fayall, 198.
Fenner, 131.
Féret, M., 219.
Ferryland, 161.
Fir, 235.
Fish-hook and line, 53.
Five Nations, 128, 190, 191, 193.

Flag, or lilies of France, 138. Flemings, 183. Flemish, 231, 304. Fletcher's Neck, 47. Florida, 95, 156, 159, 221, 261, 262, 280, 299. Florida, Gulf of, 23. Fontainebleau, 97. Forillon, 300. Fort, Iroquois, in Fenner, N. Y., 130, 131, 132. Fort Saint Louis, 148, 169, 179. Foucher, 163. Fougeray, or Foulgeré de Vitré, 43. Fouques, Captain, 38. Fourchu, Port du Cap, 298, 304. Foxes, 265. France, French, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 27, 29, 31, 34, 40, 43, 45, 52, 54, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 74, 75, 76, 79, 80, 88, 90, 96, 98, 103, 104, 107, 110, 113, 116, 121, 122, 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 151, 152, 155, 158, 160, 161, 162, 163, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 191, 192, 193, 196, 200, 203, 206, 209, 211, 219, 236, 269, 291, 301, 304. Francis I., 9, 16. Francis II., 14, 16. Françoise de Mercœur, 15. Fredericton, 36. Frenchman's Bay, 208. French River, 126, 301. Freer, 16, 17, 27. Fyall, 78.

G.

Gachepé, 233. Gage, Thomas, 22.

Galops, Rapids, 270. Garneau, Francis Xavier, 271. Gar-pike, 97. Gafpé, 29, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 45, 165, 166, 167, 233, 234, 272, 277, 278, 291, Gaspey, 233. Gaspey, Poincte de, 300. Gaston, Duke of Orleans, 146. Gaston, Sault de, 298. Genefee River, 274. Georgia, 235. Georgian Bay, 126, 144, 199, 210. Germany, 13. Gefures, M. de, 28. Gibbs, George, 194. Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 318. Giovanni da Verrazano, 23. Gloucester Harbor, 63, 65, 197. Goat Island, 59. Goat River, 298. Gomez, Estevan, 77. Gookin, Daniel, 52. Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, 318. Gosnold, Bartholomew, v, 54, 75, 197. Goudon, Elizabeth, 161. Gouffre, Baye de, 294. Gougou, 289, 290. Grand Banks, 34, 61, 105. Grand Cibou, 175, 304. Grand Sault, 297. Gransibou, 175. Grapes, 49, 264. Green Island, 296. Green Mountain, 208. Green Mountains, 266. Greenwich, 234. Grenefey, 231. Grondines, Les, 296.

Guadaloupe, 22.

Guaft, Pierre du, Sieur de Monts, 35.
Guerchville, Marchionefs de, 122, 123.
Guernfey, 231.
Guicciardino, Ludovico, 8.
Guienne, 8.
Guizot, M. François Pierre Guillaume,
214.
Gurnet, 207, 208.

#### H.

Hague, Royal Archives of, 207. Hakluyt, Richard, 30, 58, 233, 259. Hakluyt Society, 23, 26, 27, 219. Halifax Harbor, 298. Hamel, Thomas, 213. Harding's Beach Point, 66. Hare Island, 251, 252, 253, 275, 295. Hares, 263. Hariot, Thomas, 58. Haute Isle, 70, 197. Hautes, Isles Affez, 299. Havana, 23. Havre du Grâce, 34, 37, 38, 231, 291. Hawkins, John, 77. Hazel-nuts, 264. Hébert, Madame, 153, 166, 171. Henry II., 16. Henry III., 4, 5, 14, 15, 16, 17, 26, 27, 112, 186. Henry IV., 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 23, 26, 29, 34, 35, 36, 62, 79, 97, 103, 105, 112, 113, 122, 158, 186, 220. Henry VIII., 9. Herbert, Lord, of Cherbury, 9. Herfaut, Jacques, 194. Hinds, 265. Hispaniola, 22. History, Magazine of Am., 132.

History, Penn. Magazine of, 132 Hochelaga, 29, 255, 268. Holland, 9, 22. Honfleur, 28, 32, 37, 80, 96, 98, 104, 105, 114, 124, 142, 146, 147, 231. Hontan, Baron La, 33, 265, 270. Hops, 264. Horican, 94. Horsefoot-crab, 58. Houêl, Louis, 123, 155. Hudson, Henry, 77, 93, 116, 211, 250. Hudson River, 93, 262. Hudson's Bay, 211, 250, 272. Hudfon's Bay Company, 193. Huguenots, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 27, 35, 145, 154, 156, 160, 187. Hurons, 90, 96, 98, 99, 102, 103, 108, 124, 126, 127, 128, 137, 138, 139, 143, 180, 187, 192, 261, 276, 301.

#### I.

Icebergs, 232, 233.

Immeftan, 299.

Indians, 32, 33, 35, 38, 39, 40, 46, 53, 55, 60, 63, 64, 66, 81, 88, 102, 103, 106, 107, 109, 114, 115, 116, 124, 148, 149, 153, 163, 166, 167, 192, 193, 222.

Indian Corn, 49, 52, 55, 63, 66, 127, 128, 129, 300, 303.

Iroquois, 34, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 101, 115, 120, 127, 131, 132, 139, 140, 143, 152, 183, 184, 190, 191, 193, 238, 258, 261, 262, 274, 275, 276, 280, 285, 286, 291.

Iroquois, Fort, or Fortrefs, 100, 101, 261.

Iroquois River, 33, 261, 263, 266, 267,

273, 285, 297.

Ifle aux Coudres, 275. Isle aux Lieures, 295. Isle de Chasse, 206. Isle de Grâce, 260. Isle de Sasinon, 294. Isle de St. Eloy, 296. Isle d'Orléans, 252. Isle du Pas, 260. Isle Haute, 302. Isle Jésus, 300. Isle Perrot, 267. Isle Plat, 263. Isle Royale, 297. Isles aux Corneilles, 294. Isles de Richelieu, 260. Isles of Shoals, 51, 197, 299. Isle St. Ignace, 260. Isle St. Paul, 293. Isle Verte, 296. Ivry, 16, 26.

J.

Jacopolis, 2. Jacques Cartier, River, 255. Jamay, Denis, 124, 142. James I., 158, 159. Jamestown, 160, 211, 299. Jaques, Master, a Sclavonian, 60. Jean, Cap d'Isle Sainct, 298. Jean d'Angely, 18. Jean de Beauuais, Saint, 216. Jean, Isle Sainct, 297, 302. Jeannin, President Pierre, 112, 117, 294. Jeannin, Riuière, 294. Jeffrie, 264. Jeremy Island, 284. Jerremisquam Island, 46.

Jéfuites, 94, 96, 122, 161, 175, 178, 179, 220, 234, 256, 296.

Jeune, Père le, 180, 184, 185, 234, 257, 266.

Jogues, Ifaac, 93, 96.

Jonas, The, 61, 62, 74, 75, 77.

Jonefport, Me., 294.

Jofeph, Lac S., 296.

Joffelyn, John, 303.

Julian, St., 21.

Jvet, Robert, 93.

K.

Kadefquit, 42, 122 Kendufkeag, 42 Kennebec River, 43, 46, 47, 56, 57, 58, 197, 294, 396. Kingfton, 136. Kirke, Sir David, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172. Kirke, Gervafe, 161. Kirke, Henry, 161. Kirke, Lewis, 161, 168. Kirke, Thomas, 161, 167, 168, 169, 170. Kirke, Thurfton, 161.

L.

Labrador, 282.

La Cadie, 34, 36, 37, 52, 61, 63, 79, 122, 208, 225, 280, 286, 287, 298.

Lac de Nibachis, 300.

Lac du St. Sacrament, 93, 94.

La Chine Rapids, 106, 117, 268, 270.

Lac Petit, 300.

Lac St. Charles, 296.

Laflèche, 236.

La Hève, 38, 77, 122.

Lake Angoulême, 259. Lake Champlain, 93, 97, 100, 102, 190, 199, 261, 262, 280. Lake Erie, 211, 271, 275. Lake George, 93, 262, 300. Lake Huron, 144, 159, 210, 271. Lake Michigan, 211, 271. Lake Nipiffing, 126, 199, 303. Lake Ontario, 128, 130, 131, 135, 199, 274, 275, 301, 302. Lake of Two Mountains, 117, 126. Lake Simcoe, 126, 127, 128. Lake St. Clair, 271. Lake St. Francis, 270. Lake St. John, 81, 99, 258. Lake St. Louis, 117, 270, 301, 302, Lake St. Peter, 33, 36, 259, 260, 273, 296. Lake Superior, 33, 99, 297. Lake Winipeg, 265. Lalemant, Father Charles, 184. Lalemant, Hierofme, 93, 95, 96, 124, I 54. Lamb, George, vii. Languedoc, 146. Laifple, 233. Lark Point, 235. Larousse, 16, 206. Laud, Archbishop, 161. Laudonnière, Capt., v, 95, 269. Laurie's Chart, 256, 263, 266. Laverdière, L'Abbé, C. H., 150, 171, 173, 185, 202, 212, 218, 219, 220, 233, 234, 235, 236, 255, 256, 259, 267, 268, 270, 281, 282, 283, 284, 293, 297. League, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 112. Ledyard, L. W., 132. Leo X., 14. Le Roy, Marguerite, I.

Lefcarbot, Marc, 37, 59, 61, 62, 71, 75, 95, 97, 206; his writings, 206. Lesdiguieres, Duchess of, 252. Lefquemin, 37, 294. Levi, Henry de, 150. Library, National, of Paris, 218. Library of Harvard College, vii, 215, 216, 217, 218. Little Boar's Head, 51, 299. Little River, 50, 268. Little Salmon River, 129, 130. Liverpool, 38. London, 8, 23, 26, 160, 161, 165, 171, 172, 173, 215. Long Beach, 207. Long Saut, 270. Loughborough, Lake, 136. Louise, Queen, 15. Louis XIII., 20, 150, 160, 217. Louis XIV., 201. Lower Granville, 59, 72, 206. Lucar de Barameda, St., 21, 23. Lucini, 207.

## M.

Madison, County of, 131.

Magellan, Straits of, 25.

Mahone Bay, 298.

Maillé Brézé, Claire Clemence, 105, 113.

Maine, 41, 43, 44, 58, 71, 79, 122, 197, 258.

Maine, Gulf of, 78.

Maine, M. du, 4.

Maisonneuve & Co., 219.

Mal-Bay, 278.

Mal de la terre, 45, 60, 87.

Mallebarre, Port de, 56.

Malte-Brun, 12.

Manan, Grand, 71. Manan, Petit, 204. Mancenilla, 22. Manicouagan River, 283. Mantelet, or shield, 133. Manthoumerme, 47. Maple, 264. Marais, Des, 103. Maran, 9. Marennes, 5, 6, 206. Margaret, River St., 282. Margarita, 22, 196. Margry, Pierre, 150. Mariefort, 62. Marie, Rapide de Ste., 266. Marie, Rivière Ste., 256. Marque, Letters of, 167. Marriage of Indians, 248. Marshall, O. H., 118, 132. Marshfield, 53. Marsh, Geo. P., 25. Martens, 278. Martha's Vineyard, 69, 198, 299. Mason, Captain John, 318. Maffachusetts, 56, 77, 197, 286. Maffachufetts Bay, 51, 52, 156, 293. Massachusetts Indians, 52. Maffachufetts Hiftorical Society, 207. Maffé, Enemond, 122, 179. Maffion, M. D., 3. Matane, River, 234. Matapedia, 279. Mattawan River, 126, 301. Mayenne, Duke of, 4, 112. May Flower, 54. Meaux, 194. Médicis, Catherine de, 14, 26. Médicis, Marie de, 112, 113, 122. Membertou, 73. Mercœur, Duke de, 15, 18, 20, 105.

Mercure François, 158. Mer Douce, 271, 298, 301, 304. Merrimac Bay, 200. Merrimac River, 51. Merrymeeting Bav. 46. Mefamichi, 37. Messamoüet, 40. Metaberoutin, 257. Mexico, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 196. Mexico, New York, 131. Mezeray, de, 15, 17. Micmacs, 42, 279, 286. Mill Cove, 66. Mille Vaches, 284. Mines, Bafin of, 288, 289. Mines Channel, 76. Mines, Port des, 29, 302. Mirabeau, Monsieur de, 4. Miramichi, 279. Mirth, Rule of, 72. Mifcou. 298, 304. Mitchell, Prof. Henry, 207, 208. Mitchell's River, 66. Mohawks, 88, 93. Mohicans, 94. Moine, Le, viii, 233, 234, 264, 265. Moifie Bay, 281. Moncornet, Balthazar, 212, 213, 214. Monhegan, 43, 57. Monk Island, 260. Monomov, 56, 66, 69, 70. Monfeag Bay, 46. Montanne River, 234, 279. Montbulin, 18. Mont de la Roque, 59. Montluc, Marshal de, 2. Monstr'œil, Clavde de, 215, 225, 229. Montagnais, 89, 98, 99, 100, 152, 178, 192, 233, 234, 236, 238, 242, 250, 261, 278, 285, 291.

Montaigne, 220. Montmorency, Admiral Charles de, 226, 253. Montmorency, Charlotte Marguerite de, 113. Montmorency, Henry, Duke de, 113, 146, 148, 150. Montmorency, Le Saulte de, 295. Montreal, 29, 33, 96, 106, 107, 115, 117, 120, 121, 124, 126, 135, 141, 186, 199, 251, 255, 261, 266, 267, 268, 297. Mont-réal, Isle de, 294, 300. Montaut, Sieur de, 4. Montcalm, Gen'l Louis Jos., 91. Monts Déferts, Isle de, 41, 209, 294, 304. Monte Christo, 22. Moofe, 265. Morel, Captain, 37. Morlay, 12. Morris Island, 66. Mosquitoes, 22. Motte Bourioli, La, 43. Mount Defert, 41, 42, 78, 122, 123, 197, 208, 238, 294. Mourt's Relation, 207. Mouton, Port au, 297. Muscovites, 181. Myr, Pierre Le, 217. Mushauwomuk, 52. Muskrat, 266. Muskrat Lake, 118, 300, 301.

N.

Naigré, Port du Cap, 298, 304. Nantaíket, 53. Naíhaway, 52.

Mystic River, 52.

Natel, Antoine, 83. Natiscotec, 233. Nauset Harbor, 54, 56, 63, 65, 70, 197. Navarre, 4, 5, 12, 17, 217. Navigation, Treatife on, 178. Nepefiguit River, 279. Neponfitt, 52. Neutral Nation, 303, 304. Neutre, La Nation, 303. New Brunswick, 36, 39, 44, 159, 197. New England, 46, 49, 54, 57, 64, 70, 71, 77, 78, 95, 197, 198, 207, 210, 239, 303. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vii, 276. New Foundland, 25, 29, 32, 159, 161, 232, 293, 300. New France, 36, 37, 62, 99, 104, 105, 111, 113, 114, 116, 123, 146, 148, 149, 151, 156, 157, 159, 171, 172, 177, 178, 180, 181, 183, 185, 187, 188, 195, 213, 216, 225, 265, 278. New Grenada, 22. Newport Mountain, 209. New Scotland, 159, 176, 177. New York, 93, 136, 143, 152, 170, 199, 200, 276, 302. New York, Documentary Hift. of, 207. New York Hift. Society, 93, 132. Niagara Falls, 271, 274, 275, 301. Nicaragua, Lake of, 25. Nicholas, St., 22. Nichols Pond, 131, 132. Nicolet River, 297. Nicolette River, 259. Nipiffing Lake, 126, 199, 303. Nipiffings, Indians, 138, 139. Nipmuck, 52. Noddle's Island, 52.

Nogent-le-Rotrou, 112.

Nomény, 15. Nonamesset, 70. Nonantam, 32. Normandy, 31, 112, 223, 231. Normans, 29. North Carolina, 58. North Point, 298. North Sea, 301. Norton, 161. Norumbegue, 40, 41. Notre Dame, Church of, 86. Notre Dame de Recouvrance, 180. Notre Dame de Quebec, Parish Register, 185. Nouë, Anne de, 180. Nova Scotia, 31, 39, 75, 76, 77, 79, 95, 159, 162, 197, 206, 279, 289, 293. Nuremburg, 15.

0.

Oaks, 264. Ochiltrie, Lord, 174, 175. Olbeau, Jean d', 124, 150. Old Orchard Beach, 47, 197. Old Point Comfort, 299. Old Stage Harbor, 66. Oleron, 2, 5, 9. Oneida Lake, 129, 131, 132. Oneida River, 129, 131. Onondaga, Invasion of, 132. Ontario, Lake, 271. Opinion Publique, 186. Oregon, 94. Orgny, d', 231. Orignac, 153, 264, 265, 278. Orillia, 127. Orleans, Duke of, 74. Orléans, Isle d', 295, 297. Orleans, Island of, 252, 273, 294. Orlogio, Cavalier, 3. Orville, D', 43. Ofwego River, 274. Otis, Dr. Charles P., vi, vii, 213, 224, 318. Otonabee, 128. Ottawa, City of, 120, 127. Ottawa River, 90, 99, 100, 116, 120, 125, 126, 199, 238, 265, 270, 300, 301, 303. Otter, 265. Otter Cove Cliffs, 209. Otter Creek Cove, 209. Ouesfant, 231, 291. Outard Bay, 283. Oyster Harbor, 65. Oyster Pond, 66.

P.

Pacific Coast, 95. Pacific Ocean, 116, 172. Paliffy, Bernard, 12. Panama, Isthmus of, 22, 24, 25, 196. Panounias, 46. Paris, 12, 17, 18, 28, 61, 104, 110, 112, 123, 155, 175, 181, 206, 212, 213, 225, 229. Parkman, Francis, viii, 29, 95. Parmentier, Jean, 29. Paffamaquoddy Bay, 39, 41. Peltry, 154. Pemetegoet, 299. Pemetiq, 41. Penobícot, 41, 42, 57, 78, 198, 208. Penobfcot Bay, 43, 70, 294. Percée, Ile, 37, 278, 279, 280, 281, 286, 300. Perrault, Père, 175.

Peru, 25. Petit Passage de l'Isle Longue, 298. Petun, Gens de, 303. Petuns, 139. Philadelphia, 36. Philip II., 15. Picardy, 18, 29. Pickering, Dr. Charles, 49, 235, 239, 240, 264. Pièces Justificatives, 181. Piedmont, 146. Pierre, Brook, 107. Pigeon Lake, 128. Pilotoua, 247. Pinart, M., 219. Pine, 235. Pifcataqua, 78, 211. Placentia Bay, 232, 293. Place Royale, La, 107. Plessis, Pacifique, du, 124. Plymouth, 77, 207, 211. Plymouth, Eng., 171. Plymouth Harbor, 54, 197, 206, 207, 208. Point à Callière, 107. Point Allerton, 53. Point aux Vaches, 235. Point Cardinal, 270. Point Chassé, 282. Point Colombier, 284. Point Comfort, 211. Point Croix, 282. Point de Monts, 282. Point Levi, 293. Point Peter, 278. Point Platon, 254. Point St. Nicholas, 283. Poitrincourt, 222. Pons, 35. Pons, Jacques, de, 2, 110.

Pont Gravé, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 45, 58, 59, 61, 62, 70, 84, 86, 88, 96, 98, 115, 141, 145, 146, 149, 164, 205, 236, 237, 255, 267, 291. Pontiff, Roman, 13, 15. Poplar, 264. Porcupines, 265. Portage du Fort, 120. Port à Lesquille, 205. Port aux Coquilles, 294. Port aux Huistres, 65. Port aux Saulmon, 295. Port Dauphin, 175. Port du Cap de Raye, 293. Port Fortuné, 69. Portland, 47. Port Louis, 20, 21. Port Mouton, 38, 39, Porto-bello, 22, 25. Porto Platte, 22. Porto-rico, San Juan de, 22. Port Royal, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 76, 77, 122, 123, 304. Port St. Louis, 207. Portsmouth, 211. Portugal, 26, 27. Poutrincourt, 40, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65; 67, 68, 72, 75, 76, 122, 123. Powers, Stephen, 94, 95. Prairies, M. Des. 101. Prefixe, 18. Prevert, Sieur, 32, 222, 279, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291. Prince Edward Island, 288. Prince, George, viii. Prince, The Rev. Thomas, 308. Prince Society, 156, 159, 172, 177, 207, 305; act of incorporation, 306; constitution, 307, 308; rules and regulations of the Council, 308-310; officers, 311; names of members, 312-316; publications, 317, 318; works in preparation, 318.

Pring, Martin, v, 77, 198.

Protestants, 13, 14, 103, 112, 187, 188.

Prout's Neck, 47.

Provençal Cappitaine, 20.

Puitaillé, La Riviere, 3.

Punkapaog, 52.

Purchas, his Pilgrims, 215.

Puritans, 156.

### Q.

Ouaddy Head, 78. Ouarter-master, 16, 19. Quebec, 28, 29, 30, 33, 36, 82, 84, 85, 87, 89, 90, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 103, 104, 105, 110, 114, 115, 116, 123, 124, 126, 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 176, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 187, 189, 190, 194, 199, 205, 209, 213, 218, 253, 254, 264, 273, 293, 294, 295, 296, 301, 304. Ouebec, Province of, 159. Ouentin, Father, 122. Quinibequi, Quinibequy, Quinebequi, Ouinté, Bay of, 128, 130, 274, 302.

## R.

Rafn, Prof. Charles C., 318.
Ralleau, Sieur, 37, 40.
Ramufio, 29.
Ranges, 41.
Ranke, Leopold, 12, 14.

Rafpberry, 264, 303. Raze, Cap de, 37. Razilly, Commander Ifaac de, 155, Raymbault, Père Charles, 185. Recollect Chapel, 185. Recollects, Fathers, 123, 124, 138, 141, 142, 147, 149, 220, 296, 298. Red Cedar, 215. Ree, 9. Relations des Jésuites, 42, 46, 63, 73, 90, 93, 154, 175, 180, 185, 256, 257, 264, 266. Religion of the Savages, 243-247. Ribaut, Cap Jean, v, 299. Rice Lake, 128. Richelieu, Cap de, 297. Richelieu, Cardinal de, 5, 105, 113, 155, 156, 157, 160, 174, 175, 176, 181, 191, 193, 217, 219. Richelieu Island, 256. Richelieu River, 33, 36, 90, 93, 96, 100, 101, 199, 222, 260, 261, 262, 280, 297. Richemond, Meschinet de, viii, 206. Richmond's Island, 47, 48, 49, 197, 299. Rideau River, 302. Rio Chagres, 25. Riftigouche River, 281, 298. River du Guast, 52. River Leffumen, 284. River of Canada, 273, 278. River of the Algonquins, 270. River Romaine, 284. River St. Lambert, 268. River Trent, 128. Riuière de Gaspey, 298. Riuière de Sauuages, 296. Riuière des Esturgeons & Saulmons,

296.

Rivière des Prairies, 126, 300. Riuière des Puans, 207. Riuière du Gast, 207. Riuière Platte, 205, 208. Riuière Saincte Suzanne, 297. Rivière du Fouez, 257. Rivière du Loup, 297. Rivière du Sud, 294. Rivière Noire, 283. Rivière Petite, 252. Rivière St. Pierre, 268. Roanoke Island, 58. Roberval, Jean François, v, 29, 30, 31. Robinston, 43. Rochefort, 6. Roche, Marquis de la, 30, 31. Rochelle, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 11, 35, 38, 110, 117, 146, 148, 157, 160, 194, 206. Rock River, 282. Rocky Neck, 64. Roman Church, 93, 122, 186, 188. Rome, 17. Ronjat, E., 214. Roque, François de la, 29. Roquemont, Claude de, 155, 157, 165, Roffignol, Captain, 38, 40, 298. Rouen, 28, 35, 114, 148, 155, 212. Round Island, 267. Roy-François, 30.

S.

Sable, Baye de Cap, 298.

Sable Ifland, 31.

Saco, 48, 49, 52, 56, 63, 66, 197, 238, 286.

Sagadahock, 46, 47.

Sagamore, 34, 236, 243, 245.

Sagard, Gabriel, 150, 153, 235, 264, 265. Saguenay, 32, 81, 99, 109, 124, 221, 234, 235, 238, 249, 250, 252, 253, 257, 258, 301. Saguenay, Sault de Riuière, 297. Sainct Cler, Baie de, 37. Saint Anne, Bay of, 175. Saint Anne, River, 255, 256. Saint Bartholomew's, 186. Saint Charles, River, 29, 82, 149, 163. Saint Clair, Gen'l, 91. Saint Croix, in Canada, 254, 255, 256, 257, 296, 304. Saint Croix, Island of, 39, 43, 56, 58, 59, 60, 63, 75, 294, 304. Saint Croix, Island in Canada, 256. Saint Croix, River, 39, 40, 70, 159, 206, 208, 299. Saint Eloi, Island of, 256. Saint Francis, River, 259, 297. Saint Gabriel, 127, 176, 177. Saint Germain, 150. Saint Hélène, 266, 267. Saint Ignace, Island of, 100, 102. Saint Jacques, 194. Saint Jean Baptiste, 127. Saint Jean d'Angely, 113. Saint John, Island of, 288. Saint John, Isles of, 234. Saint John, Lake, 250. Saint John, New Brunswick, 39, 60, 75, 206, 238, 280, 287. Saint John, Newfoundland, 30. Saint John on the Richelieu, 91. Saint John, River, 40. Saint Lawrence, Chronicles, 233, 234. Saint Lawrence, Gulf of, 123, 161, 166, 178, 199, 200, 210, 233, 298, 302.

Saint Lawrence, Island of, 280, 289.

Saint Lawrence, River of, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 37, 39, 89, 96, 98, 100, 101, 106, 107, 110, 126, 127, 128, 130, 135, 148, 154, 159, 161, 166, 172, 180, 187, 192, 199, 205, 234, 255, 261, 264, 265, 272, 281, 295, 296, 300, 303. Saint Louis, Sault, 304. Saint Luc, de, 4, 5, 16, 17. Saint Malo, 28, 31, 32, 74, 77, 114, 121, 148, 237, 286, 290. Saint Matthew's Point, 235, 236, 240. Saint Maurice, River, 99, 109, 257, 258. Saint Mary's Bay, 39, 40. Saint Mesmes, 5. Saintonge, 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 17, 35, 110. Saint Paul's Bay, 294. Saint Paul, Islands of, 233, 267. Saint Peter, Islands of, 232, 233. Saint Peter, Street of, 86. Saint Therèse, 266. Salem, 211, 290. Salt-works, 6-10. San Juan d'Ulloa, 22, 23. Saquish, 207, 208. Safinoa, 294. Sauffaye, Sieur de la, 122. Savage-Rock, 197, 198. Savages, 51, 66, 68. Scituate, 53. Scotland, 159. Scotch Colony, 162. Scoudic River, 299. Scurvy, 45, 60, 87. Secondon, Indian Chief, 60, 287. Seguin, 197. Selfridge, Capt., 25. Sept Ifles, Les, 299. Seven Islands, 282. Seven Islands Bay, 282.

Severn River, 126, 127. Sevestre, 217. Seville, 21. Shawmut, 52, 211. Shaw Norton, 26, 27. Shea, John Gilmary, viii, 90, 93, 96, 123, 132, 149, 158, 213. Shediac Island, 279. Sheepfcot, 46, 47. Ship-canal, 24. Shrewfbury, Earl of, 27. Simcoe, 126, 127, 141, 199. Simon, Mr., 39. Sillery, Chancellor de, 117. Slafter, Edmund F., 306, 317, 318. Smith, Captain John, v, 54, 77, 78, 198. Smith's Cove, 64. Smith, S. D., 131. Smyth, R. Brough, 240. Snow-shoe, 248. Soissons, Charles de Bourbon, Count de, 112, 113, 294. Soissons, Lac de, 294. Soudis, Madame de, 122. Soupconneuse, La, 69, 299. Souricoua, 279. Sourin, 44. Souriquois, 279, 286, 287. Sous le Fort, Street of, 86. Southampton, Earl of, 57. South Sea, 277. Spain, or Spanish, 10, 13, 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 161, 195. Spain, New, 22, 23, 25, 27. Spruce, 235. Stage Harbor, 66, 68, 70, 197. Stags, 265. Stirling, Earl of, 176. Stony Lake, 128. Stratton Island, 47.

Strawberry, 264.
Stuart, Sir James, 174.
Sturgeon Lake, 128.
Sully, Duke of, 4, 5, 16, 18, 27, 36, 112.

#### T.

Tabajie, 236, 237, 241, 286. Tabula Nautica, 211. Taché, Dr. J. C., 127. Tadoussac, 32, 33, 36, 37, 80, 81, 83, 84, 88, 89, 96, 98, 104, 106, 110, 115, 124, 147, 154, 162, 163, 164, 166, 168, 169, 170, 231, 234, 236, 238, 239, 249, 250, 251, 258, 277, 278, 284, 285, 286, 291, 295, 296, 297, 300, 304. Talon, Lac du, 126. Tanager, fcarlet, 97. Télégraphe, Compagnie du, 54. Ten Pound Island, 84. Terra Firma, 22. Tesouac, La Riuière de, 301. Tefouac, Isle de, 301. Teffoüat, chief, 118, 119. Thémins, Marefchal, 113. Thet, Gilbert du, 122. Thevet, André, 77, 233, 239. Thone, Charente, 4. Thornton, J. Wingate, 306. Thorvald, the Northman, 56. Thou, Jacque-Auguste, de, 5, 16, 18. Thousand Islands, 128. Three Rivers, 33, 36, 99, 152, 154, 255, 257, 258, 259, 273, 301. Ticonderoga, 91, 93. Timothée, Captain, 37. Tiny, 127. Tobacco, 49, 55, 63. Toleration, Christian, 188.

Tortue, La Rivière de la, 268. Touloufe, 146. Tourmente, Cap de, 295. Tours, 112, 146. Tour, Claude la, 160. Tour, Port la, 298. Tour, Sieur de la. 298. Tortue, Lac la, 126. Tracadie, 279. Trent, River, 302. Trespassez, Baye des, 300. Tribes, American, 240. Trofs, 153. Trou, Cataracte du, 270. Trumball, J. Hammond, 42, 46, 47, 52, 175. Tuckerman, Edward, 303. Turkey, wild, 58. Tuttle, Charles W., 306, 318. Two Mountains, Lake of, 294, 300.

#### U.

United States, 54, 200. Université Laval, 218. University of Paris, 229. Upper Hell-gate, 46. Urbin, Castritio d', 3.

# V.

Vaudemont, Nicholas, Count de, 15. Veillane, 146.
Ventadour, Duke de, 150, 154.
Vera Cruz, 22.
Verchères, 263, 265, 266.
Vermont, 93, 200.
Verneuil, Madame de, 122.
Verte River, 296.

Vervins, 11, 18, 20, 206.
Vierges, Les, 300.
Vieuxpont, Alexander de, 175.
Vignan, Nicholas de, 116, 117, 119, 121.
Vimont, Barthélemy, 175, 185.
Vineyard Ifland, 198.
Vineyard Sound, 69, 71, 77, 197, 222.
Virginia, 58, 122, 160, 211, 299.
Virginia Companies, 158.
Virgin Mary, 246.
Virgins, 22.
Voltaire, 113.

W.

Wallace's Sands, 50.
Walnuts, 264.
Weechagaskas, 52.
Wellfleet, 197.
Wells, 50.
Westport, 46.
West Indies, 10, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 196, 200, 219.
Weymouth, Captain George, 57, 77, 198, 235.

Wheelwright, Rev. John, 156, 317.
Whitmore, William H., 317.
Wigwam or Cabin, Indian, 55, 239, 240.
Williams, Roger, 95.
Winfor, Justin, vii.
Wilmere, Alice, 26.
Winipeg, Lake, 265.
Wifcasset, 46.
Wifconsin, Hist. Society, 276.
Women, Indian, 247.
Wood's Holl, 70.
Wood, William, 207, 317.
Woolwich, 46.
Wyet, 233.

X.

Xaintongeois, 215, 217. Xanctoigne, 30.

Y.

Yarmouth Bay, 61. York River, 278, 298. Yroquois, 222, 300, 304. Yuki, 95.



